New York Times Company

THE WEEK IN REVIEW









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w, when? The court set no

explicit timetable, but by referring to corrective action the state Legislature must take, it clearly postponed the noteholders' due date at least into

January, when the Legislature meets. As with the phrase "all deliberate speed" in segregation cases, the phrase "unnecessarily disruptive" in the moratorium case is vital and deliberately undefined. The definition will come when the court applies its reasoning to the specific plans for paying the noteholders are submitted for the judges' approval, as they must be.

Mayor Beame hurried home from Israel yesterday to begin the work of finding the \$1 billion. State and city officials all agreed that the time given them by the court means there is no reason for panic, and they expressed optimism a solution will be found.

The reasons for optimism may be there but they were not evident. The city is already in deficit and must make further cuts in personnel and services; it has no money in its budget to cover the new \$1 billion expense item; the state presumably has none either, the bonds of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the new financial structure created as part of the recovery plan, fell sharply in value as soon as the court's decision became known.

Carter's Issue Is **Now His Problem**

President-elect Jimmy Carter, his attention already focused on the economy, got cause to keep it there last week: New economic statistics showed that while the rate of inflation continues relatively modest, the economy in general is showing no improvement. Thus Mr. Carter will soon face as President what was a short time ago his main campaign issue.

There is growing political and economic-expert discussion of what he should do to safely stimulate the economy. Among the possibilities mentioned have been a one-shot tax rebate, public works and jobs programs and a broad-based tax cut. Mr. Carter has said he will not decide on a stimulus until he assumes office, and then only if the economy is still relatively stagnant. It appears his economic experts favor the one-time rebate on the ground that it would not limit future tax revenue available for other Government programs. Over 7.5 million people are unemployed.

The current level of economic activity, it appears, will not do much to reduce that jobless total. Among the statistics made public last week was a downward correction in the gross national product for the quarter of the year ending in September. The new figure is 3.8 percent; a 4-percent rates is considered the minimum to prevent an increase in unemployment. Industrial production, a major indicator of the economy's performance, dropped

five-tenths of a percent in October. The Consumer Price Index, however, the measure of inflation in retail prices, rose three-tenths of 1 percent in October, the smallest increase in seven months. A reduction in inflation has been President Ford's major economic goal, but the means he chose meant continuing high unemployment.

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Personal Perceptions Becloud the Dismal Science

Keynes and Freud Meet In the Free Market

By PAUL LEWIS

Economic man is not playing by the rule book again. That is not very suprising, because he seldom has. All the same, it is awkward for professional economists when the laws of ."the dismal science" are flouted on the scale they have been in the recent recession, for it suggests psychologists may know more about the path to prosperity or other, less inviting, places in the economic landscape than gentlemen with slide rules.

The evidence is substantial: · High inflation has gone hand in hand with high unemployment, although for years economists have claimed there was an inverse relationship between inflation and unemployment.

• Despite rapid inflation, the man in the street has been banking more money than ever before, apparently obilvious to the fact that its value is melting away, while the price of tangible goods is rising.

· Businessmen did not cut prices when demand their goods fell, as theory says they should Neither did unions cheapen labor when firms started laying off workers. Rather, they pushed up wages and priced more men out of jobs.

· Although Lord Keynes, the economic mentor of the times, believed governments could boost demand by pumping money into the economy, record budget deficits (the result of Keynesian policies) throughout the industrial world have produced only an anemic recovery so far.

• Even the free market has proved a disappointment. Adam Smith, the father of classical economic theory called it "the invisible hand" that would secure the welfare of all. But a cartel of oil exporting countries have grabbed most of the chips on the table, and there seems to be nothing that can be

Yet as Prof. Walter W. Rostow of the University of Texas says, none of this would seem so disconcerting to economists if they had read more economic history. For this is not the first time the world has experienced "stagflation," the combination of high unemployment and high inflation. Mr. Rostow finds regular occurrences of stagflation in 18thcentury and 19th-century Europe, when harvests failed, food prices shot up and industry slumped because people had less money left to buy other

Moreover, these earlier episodes of stagflation were weirdly similar to our own, for on each occasion rising raw material prices were a major cause of the trouble, although this time oil as well as grain was the villain.

The reaction of ordinary people then was similar. as well. Those who could also tended to hoard liquid funds. In 19th-century Britain, Professor Rostow found, loans were called in and the Bank of England had to rescue country banks, just as the Federal Reserve Board and other central banks throughout the world have been bailing out struggiing banks during the past few years.

Dr. George Katona of the University of Michigan, En authority on what he terms "psychological economics," does not find this surprising, even though stockpiling goods might seem to make better sense than saving money. His studies of the behavior of the American consumer since the end of World War II show that only twice, in 1950 at the outset of the Korean War and again in 1972. did he react to inflation or other uncertainties by hoarding goods. At other times, he just saved more

The explanation, in his view, is that most consumers are rich enough to make discretionary purchases. In times of uncertainty, the normal reaction is to buy fewer unnecessary things and accumulate money for essentials. The same phenomenon probably occurred in earlier ages, though on a smaller

scale, because fewer people enjoyed such affluence. Similar explanations could be offered for the other apparent exceptions to the laws of economic behavior. Businessmen and workers have always been reluctant to reduce the price of what they sell. whether it is goods or labor, when demand falls off. Even despots historically have been unable to stop merchants from forcing up prices, either by hoarding scarce goods or withholding those in plentiful supply from the market. As for wage rates, Lord Keynes based his whole approach to economic theory on the assumption that workers could never price themselves back into jobs at times of recession by lowering their rate of hire. He knew that wage rates had not fallen in Britain during the great depression of the 1930's, aithough millions were out of work.

If workers would not work for less when times were bad. Lord Keynes suggested, governments should expand the total demand for labor by printing money and spending it on works projects of their own. That is the way the industrial nations have tried to preserve high employment ever since. But even this so-called "keynesian Revolution" may not be so new. For when the monarchs of medieval Europe lacked the means to build castles or fight wars, both ways of creating jobs at the time, they debased the coinage, which was little different from Keynes idea of printing more money.

Neither is there anything very unusual about the emergence of the oil-producers' cartel in the last three years. Free markets may indeed maximize individual welfare in the end, but in practice governments and individuals have found the lure of monopoly impossible to resist. The towns of the Hanseatic League tried to monopolize trade in Northern Europe in the 16th century, just as Queen Edizaceth I had created monopolies for herself in the lucrative salt and tobacco trade. Every speculator still dreams "cornering" a commodity marker.

The truth is that while economic text books may explain how individuals and countries ought to behave, they are a poor guide to how they will behave in practice. All sorts of other factors enter into the equation, on the natural level as well as the personal. The real springs of economic action often seem buried in the mysteries of the psyche.

Paul Lewis is a New York Times reporter who .

Rich, Poor Nations: All in Trouble

By ANN CRITTENDEN

As Adam and Eve were fleeing the Garden of Eden, one version goes, Adam turned to comfort his sobbing mate. "Don't cry, dear," he reassured her, "we're just living in an age of transition."

While the global economy may not be facing anything as epochal as the loss of paradise, there is an uneasy feeling among many that the international system may have drifted into unfamiliar and hostile territory. The immediate cause of the apprehension is the impending increase in the world price of oil, on top of the stumbling of the economic recovery in Western Europe and Japan, after a similar slowdown in the rate of real growth (after discounting the effects of inflation) in the United States.

In the second half of 1976, the 24 major industrial nations are now expected to show a disappointing annual real growth rate of only 3.5 percent, after a 6.5 increase in the first half of the year, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.

The latest estimates, for a 5 percent rate of real growth in 1976 (after discounting the effects of inflation) followed by a 4 percent rate next year represent, in effect, a slide back toward stagnation only a year after the world economy began to recover from the worst recession in 40 years. And while few analysts are predicting that a new recession is in the wings, the estimates do not even take into consideration another oil price increase.

Even more troubling is the fact that the usual counterpart of slow growth-stable prices-has vanished with the nickel candybar. What was once patronizingly called the English disease, or stagflation, a combination of inflation and slow growth, has become a worldwide epidemic. Compared with the average rate of inflation in the 1960's for example, the annual rate in the first half of 1976 had roughly doubled in Japan and the United States, had tripled in France, Britain and Canada and was alarm-

ingly high in Italy. At the same time, unemployment, which once rarely kept company with inflation, is now also roughly double what it was during the 1960's in Western Europe and the United States.

The sluggishness, it is generally agreed, is a result of the failure of business capital investment to provide the second-stage boost to the recovery that was launched by consumer spending. But economists have no real explanations for the deeper question of the possible structural changes in the way the world economy is working. The causes suggested range from the disappearance of cheap energy and raw materials to unchecked expansion of the world



money supply and to rigidities in the industrial system that prevent prices and wages from adjusting to

The economists' theories failed, too, to explain the workings of another major shift in the international economy, the emergence of floating exchange rates. These were expected to enable countries in international payments surplus or deficit to adjust automatically; simply put, as a nation began to buy more than it sold abroad, the value of its currency would fall, its exports would become cheaper and more competitive greater foreign sales would stimulate demand for its currency, and equilibrium would

In practice, export prices have proved as sticky as any others, and as weak countries' currencies fell, the primary result was to make their imports more expensive, thereby increasing their inflation, and further weakening their currencies. In the last two years, Britain, Italy and perhaps France have fallen into this downward spiral.

The slowdown and inflation in the industrial countries has taken its heaviest toll in the nonoil-producing developing countries, which like Britain and Italy,

have survived since the 1973 oil crisis only by acquiring a staggering foreign debt of more than \$170 billion. Most of that total is concentrated in the "middle income" countries such as Brazil and Mexico, each with an estimated \$22.5 billion in foreign

No precedent exists for these massive international imbalances, or for the fact that the private banking system has financed much of them including almost half of the total debt of the developing countries.

The immediate answer proposed by most poor nations is a general debt moratorium, aithough the heaviest borrowers among them have dissented, not wanting to ruin their credit standing by even suggesting such a course. The debt has become the central issue in talks winding up between representatives of the industrialized nations and the developing nations in Paris.

Goaded by their underdeveloped allies, who increasingly feel that the oil producers have done little for them other than raise their import bills, the oil nations last week said that progress in the Paris talks-largely meaning concessions by the West on debt and commodity price stabilization-will be linked to their decision on how much to raise the price of oil.

The final ministerial meeting of the "North-South dialogue" of 27 nations is scheduled for mid-December, as is the coming oil producers gathering. Now both meetings may be postponed, as the fragile devaloping world alliance waits to see whether the new Carter Administration will be more forthcoming in

negotiations than its predecessor. By all indications, this may well be the case. President-elect Carter's economic advisers have indicated a greater responsiveness to the troubles of the developing nations, specifically by expressing interest in certain price-stabilizing commodity agreements, and in the possibility of converting short-term commercial debt of the poorer nations into longer-term

World Bank loans. Domestically, the Democrats are committed to a higher level of growth in the United States, which would in turn stimulate exports in the rest of the world, and have stressed the need for similar, more stimulative policies in West Germany and Japan.

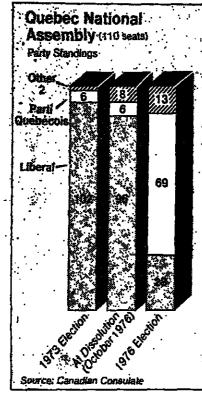
In short, the incoming Administration seems more worried about the instabilities in the global economy than President Ford's advisers, and more willing to experiment with solutions. But these captions Democrats aren't making one promises that the new activism means that happy days will be here again, at least in the immediate future.

Ann Crittenden is an economics writer for The New York Times.

The World

In Summary

The Quebec Separatists Take Power



The voters of Quebec Province have toppled an incumbent Government, apparently because they identified it with corruption and incompetence. In its place last week they chose a party that favors Quebec's independence from Canada although, according to polls, a majority of Québécois are still against that idea.

On the face of it, the victory of Rene Levesque's Parti Québécois over the incumbent Liberal Party regime headed by Premier Robert Bourassa was an extraordinary upset. Mr. Bourassa says he will now leave politics. Before the election the Levesque party had held only six seats in the 110-seat National Assembly, the province's legislature; in the new legislature it will have 69.

The popular vote, however, shows a more modest if still significant swing. In 1973, the Parti Québécois got 30 percent of the votes; this time it got 41 percent. The Liberals got 55 percent in 1973, dropping to 34 percent now. But the Liberal fallout did not all go to Mr. Lévesque's party. Minor parties this time got 25 percent of the vote, compared with 15 percent in 1973.

In the campaign, Mr. Lévesque concentrated less on the issue of independence for the French-speaking province than on offering an alternative to a regime beset by charges of corruption and poor handling of the economy. But it is inevitable that he will have to confront the Canadian Federal Government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, himself a French-Canadian, on the independence question.

Mr. Trudeau, by fostering bilingualism (which really means fostering the speaking of French outside Quebec) and giving Quebec greater control over social programs, has sought to defuse the ethnic conflict. He made clear last week he will fight to keep Canada one nation. He said Mr. Levesque had been given a "mandate to form a government ... not to separate the province from the rest of Canada."

For his part Mr. Lévesque is pledged to stage a provincial referendum on independence probably within two years. He may, however, face pressure to call the vote sooner because antiseparatist forces believe public sentiment is now against the move, but that delay could give Mr. Lévesque time to use his new office to propagandize for independence.

No one expects a repetition of Bull Run on the Ottawa River but the increased possibility of partition of Canada has profound significance for Canadians and Americans. Canada is not only by far the largest market for United States exports, it is also by far the largest source of raw material imports. Iron ore, asbestos and paper products from Quebec form a substantial part of that trade.

tial part of that trade.

Negotiations are scheduled among the Ottawa Government, Quebec and the nine other provinces on revising Canada's constitution. That document, the British North America Act, was passed in 1867 by the Westminster Parliament. Periodically since then efforts have been made to replace it with Canadian legislation. All the efforts have failed.

Portugal to Get A Large U.S. Loan

The United States, which publicly opposed the Marxist administration in Chile and secretly contributed to its ouster, has agreed to lend at least \$300 million to the Socialist Government of Portugal. Washington remembers the Chilean episode for the censure that followed disclosure of the United States's covert activities; Lisbon is haunted by the internal weaknesses of the Chilean Government of the late Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens that created the opening for outside interference.

Dr. Allende's Government was a coalition of Socialists, Communists and radical leftist groups. The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mario Soares, formed a one-party Cabinet four months ago, although his Socialist Party won only a plurality in parlia-mentary elections, and he has stated repeatedly that he will not form a Communist-Socialist alliance. Where Dr. Allende was pushed by his coalition partners to accelerate leftist reforms to the probable detriment of the Chilean economy, Mr. Soares has proposed austerity measures and a policy of "competitive coexistence" with the private sector, halting nationalizations and promoting labor discipline to retain and attract investment capital. Portugal also has made clear its intention to remain within the Western military alliance and is seeking admission to the European Economic Community.

These differences between the Allende and Soares Governments, and Washington's desire to keep what it regards as a stable and non-Communist government in power in Portugal, prompted the American loan. While many of the Socialist austerity measures have been unpopular, Mr. Soares contends they are necessary to alleviate a state of near bankruptcy left by a series of ephemeral governments following the revolution of April 1974. Portugal's balance of payments deficit for the current year is conservatively estimated at more than \$1 billion and its gold reserves are almost depleted.

Chile Frees Prisoners

The Chilean junta that deposed the Allende Government in 1973 announced last week that it was freeing all but 20 of its remaining 300 political prisoners, whose detention has aroused protest in many nations, prominent among them the United States. Congress specifically cited the issue when it decided to bar military aid to Chile and limited economic assistance to an annual \$30 million and President-elect Jimmy Carter has said he would never propose aid to Chile unless the human rights situation there substantially improved.

U.S. Says No To Hanoi at U.N.

Nearly 20 months after the war in Vietnam ended. 795 Americans still listed as missing (presumably they are dead) remain a major bargaining lever as Washington and Hanoi move to construct a postwar relationship.

Last week, the United States again vetoed Vietnam's application for admission to the United Nations. The reason given was Hanoi's failure to provide what the United States regards as a full accounting of everything Vietnam knows of the missing servicemen. The two countries have begun diplomatic talks in Paris, but the United States has stated repeatedly that it will not establish ties until the issue is resolved.

Whether the Vietnamese have more information than they have already provided is not known.

Newly unified Vietnam wants American economic aid, or at least an end to the United States' current trade embargo, to further a policy of economic independence. Hanoi already has acquired membership in such bodies as the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank.

Assuming the Vietnamese can and do clarify the status of the missing Americans, however, there is no guarantee they will receive substantial monetary help. Even if President-elect Jimmy Carter proposes such aid—and Mr. Carter has not said if he will do so—there remains the question of whether Congress will support him.

Spain Decides to Vote Once More

The parliament bequeathed to Spain by the late dictator, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, has voted its own demise and replacement by the country's first democratically elected legislature in four decades. The approval last week by the Cortes—by a large margin—was a concrete sign that while nothing really has changed in Spain, in a sense everything has.

In addition to the Cortes, the authoritarian structures of the Franco era are still intact. The police still



Premior Adolfo Suarez of Spain.

Last Week's Vote in Quebec Only Adds to the Tension

An Uneasy Alliance: Canada and Its Provinces

By HENRY GINIGER

MONTREAL—Two French Canadians are to meet next month in one of the more dramatic confrontations in modern Canadian history. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose home town is Montreal, is Prime Minister of Canada and is responsible for maintaining its territorial integrity. René Lévesque, whose home town is also Montreal, is Premier-elect of Quebec after last week's election, and he wants to lead his province eventually to independence.

Both men are governing under extraordinarily complicated and delicate arrangements. Canada is commonly, and rightly, thought of as a sovereign nation able to make its own decisions in foreign and internal matters. Yet, Canada's basic constitution is not in Ottawa but in London where, moreover, its chief of state resides. Queen Elizabeth's rule over Canada is more symbolic than anything else, but what is not symbolic is the British North America Act of 1867, which remains the basic charter of the Canadian nation.

The Quebec election involved more than just a change of parties and government. Because the Particular Québécois has as its fundamental option the independence of Quebec, suddenly the rest of Canada must look on Quebec in a different light. But Mr. Lévesque must not only deal with Canada but with Britain as well. And Queen Elizabeth is thrust into the role of George III trying to stave off a form of rebellion on the North American continent.

In each Canada Yearbook summarizing the state of the Canadian nation at the end of every year, there appears the following explanation of Canada's constitutional arrangement:

"Although the essential principles of cabinet government are based in custom or in constitutional usage, the Federal structure of Canadian government rests on the explicit written provisions of the British North America Act. Apart from the creation of a Federal union, the dominant feature of the act and indeed of the Canadian federation was the distribution of powers between the central or Federal government on the one hand and the component provincial governments on the other. In brief, the primary purpose was to grant to the Parliament of Canada legislative jurisdiction over all subjects of common interest while giving to the provincial legislatures jurisdiction over all matters of local or particular interest."

Provincial jurisdiction extends to such matters as schools, roads, urban affairs and social welfare. The provinces have taxing powers equal to the Federal Government in a direct field but are restricted as far as indirect taxation is concerned. Quebec and other provinces depend on Ottawa to finance many of their programs and this dependency creates resentmensts because it restricts local freedoms. The provinces can to a considerable extent set their own economic and social policies including the establishment of minimum wages and conditions governing investments. But, as in the United States, such matters as defense and foreign affairs, including the setting of tariffs are Federal responsibilities as are communications, including the licensing of radio and television stations.

Following World War II, in which the Federal Government gathered greater power to itself, there has been an increasing tendency on the part of the provinces to want more autonomy. This tendency is accelerated by the political diversity of Canada's governments. The Liberal Party is in power in Ottawa but differs in philosophy from the Conservative and Socialist regimes in power in some provinces and, even from the departing Liberal regime in Quebec. In Quebec, the Liberal Party is run independently of the federal Liberal Party although many persons belong to both. The separation occurred in 1960 as a result of an upsurge of nationalism in Quebec.

The history of the federation since the act was passed is consequently one of tension between the Federal power in Ottawa and the local power in what has been, since 1949, 10 provinces. Nowhere has this tension been greater than between Ottawa and Quebec because of the simple difference between the English-speaking majority on the one hand and the French-speaking minority on the other.

Ever since Britain defeated France on the Plains of Abraham above Quebec City in 1756, French Quebec has felt the need to defend itself as power whether in Ottawa or in londs ernments have traditionally sought powers at the expense of the Federal This will now be more true than ever Québécois in power. The party has a that it intends to begin a step by as with Ottawa to increase local responsitions of dollars are at stake, and on policy because that policy will help deal or French Canada remains French or a

These issues have been deheted in as moves have been under way to be constitution home" by substituting a constitution at the service agree among themselves over what home Just so long as the British act had does not have a completely free had british North America Act made as amendment of Canada's constitutional and how any legislative authority in Canada power of the Canadian Parliament to a stitution was established except for making the legislative authority of the the rights and privileges of proving or governments. There continues to be

in the act for secession.

Even assuming the best will in the rection toward Quebec's demands—a big assuming the least will in the rection of the property of the Canadian federation.

Would there be an Abraham Lincolninght a civil war over the issue main London to put down a rebelling Crown? Both eventualities are more and all sides may then come around up able conception of Quebec's place to American continent. The major command London is that not only Quebec Other provinces, with strong committed States, may also succumb to the tions as Quebec. The British North Ambeen amended 14 times by the British The 15th will surely be the bardes.

Henry Giniger is a correspondent York Times, based in Montreal.



crack down harder on extremists of the left than of the right; independent labor unions have yet to be legalized and the only authorized parties are right of center.

But the momentum for democracy has grown to such an extent since Franco's death a year ago that even the largely conservative deputies of the Cortes apparently realized that to have a say in Spain's future, they must renounce the institutions of its past-

Tenounce the institutions of its past. The bill authorizing elections by next June for a two-chamber parliament (the lower house will be entirely elected; the other partially appointed) will be submitted to a national referendum before Christmas and is expected to be approved.

In the next few weeks, the appointed Prime Minister, Adolfo Suarez, is expected to start negotiations with the various political factions to construct an electoral law specifying how many candidates can run where, and he will put the law into force by decree.

Problems remain. While the centrist

and left-of-center parties are expected to seek and acquire legal status, the Suarez Government has yet to decide whether to legalize the Communists. (A probable compromise would be to let some Communists run as individuals.)

Political violence, particularly among the Catalans or Basques, could flare and spark terrorism from the right. Overriding all is the state of the Spanish economy, which has been undermined by strikes and flagging investment. While these problems may persist, for the first time since 1936 it will almost certainly be a democratic government that will be attempting to resolve them.

Rebuilding In Lebanon

With Syrian troops now occupying Beirut and much of Lebanon, ostensibly as part of an Arab League peace force, and with most of the shooting in the 19-month civil war stopped, Lebanese civilians are beginning reconstruction of the city that formerly was the hub of Arab commerce. The first steps have also been taken by President Elias Sarkis toward reviving the government bureaucracy and such services as electricity, water and sanitation facilities.

Mr. Sarkis has yet to deal with the original cause of the fighting: the division of power between Lebanon's Moslem majority and the Christian minority that previously dominated the country's economic and political life. Some Christian and Moslem leaders are against returning to the old system and are calling for a totally secularized state. Others, especially Kamal Jumblatt, the leader of the Moslem-leftist alliance, disagree and want a new government organized on

a different but still confessional basis. But the present respite will allow the Lebanese an opportunity to count the cost of the war. Even conservative estimates say that 35,000 persons died in the fighting. One Cabinet minister said last week 60,000 had died and, among the survivors, 1.7 million of Lebanon's 3 million people need help.

Counting the cost to Lebanon's commercial life will take longer. No one knows how much Lebanese capital left the country during the war and only time will tell whether Mr. Sarkis and his associates can provide sufficient

stability to attract it back and to attract again the outside capital that once used Beirut as its principal Middle East base. Many foreign banks and businesses have departed Beirut for Athens, Teheran and Arab capitals.

Rhodesia Talks Unsuccessful

With the meeting in Geneva moving at an apparently negligible pace, the racial war in Rhodesia has intensified. The white minority government of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith claims military "victories," but the question remains: Just how long can Rhodesian forces contain the black nationalist guerrillas should the Geneva conferees fail to agree on a mechanism for a

peaceful transfer to majority rule?

There were several indications last week that the whites were capable of resisting for some time. Although outnumbered by the nationalists, Government forces are much better trained. They also have assurances that South Africa, a major supplier of arms and ammunition, and Rhodesia's sole conduit for weaponry slipped through the network of international sanctions, will not block deliveries provided the whites fulfill their commitment to try to work out a settlement in Geneva.

The guerrillas are supported by the five so-called front-line African nations, but with the exception of Mozambique, where most of the insurgents are based, the support is essentially political. They receive most of their weapons from the Soviet Union, which reportedly has stepped up deliveries in recent weeks.

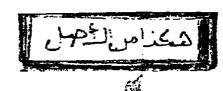
The Smith Government troops killed 31 guerillas in southeastern Rhodesia which it said was the hip toll in any single engagest war. Mozambique said forces attacked an amy on the border using 20 aircraft seven of the planes were seven.

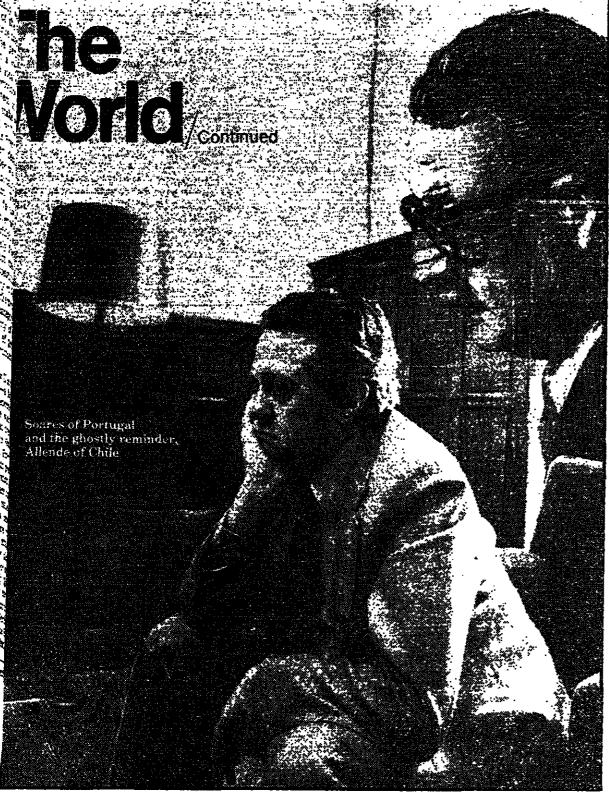
In Geneva, negotiations stalled over a date for integrated and the under majority rule. Bishop zorewa, leader of one of the factions represented accusal nationalist leaders of reference power politics by that Bishop Muzorewa and black delegation leader is shown partiality by the him sors of the talks.

Brazil's Bisho Speak Out

The Roman Catholic of quently critical of Brail.
Government, has deficed est, condemnation so for terms the regime's tolerate torture, unjust distributed and and failure to protect try's Indian's from white

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Walter Gurbo

he Aftermath of Portugal's evolution Is Expensive

By MARVINE HOWE

to the Tension

Leafter two and a half years of revolutionary in Portugal is threatened with economic collapse. a has plummeted, consumption has soared, inflaming at 30 percent, investment is standing still was are running out fast.

Manister Mario Soares has told the Portuguese at they must begin to pay the bill, jeopardizing his Marity and that of his minority Socialist Governish than four months in power, the Soares Governitaken a number of unpopular steps to correct is and abuses of the revolution," but their salutory e only just beginning to be seen.

we in the common sense of the Portuguese people,"
s remarked the other day. "They understand we
tough measures because after 50 years of fascism
tears of anarchy, the country is on the verge of
But the Portuguese people are visibly disen-

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美国英雄

the aftermath of the April 25, 1974 military coup against the right-wing dictatorship. Hard-pressed suburban housewives daily damn the Socialist Government for all their woes and some have even been heard to mutter, "Soares should be lynched."

Cashing in on the public's frustrations. Communists and radical leftists, as well as parties to the right of the Socialists, have stepped up their opposition to the Soares Government and are expected to make gains in elections set for December 12. The voting is only at the municipal and parish level, but it is considered a crucial test of the Socialist Government's popularity.

Mr. Soares, when has placeded to "respect the will of the

Mr. Soares, who has pledged to "respect the will of the people," probably would not resign if the Socialists poll less than the 35 percent they won in last April's parliamentary election, but he might bring members of the centrist parties into the cabinet if they make major gains. The Communists are not expected to poll more than 15 percent in the local elections.

The Prime Minister announced that one of his Government's immediate tasks was to restore the authority of the state. He has made considerable progress toward this aim with the help of the military President, Antonio Ramalho Eanes. Unlike the postrevolution period of anarchy, now when the Government makes a decision, it sticks to it: demonstrations are orderly and the armed forces are firmly under the President's control.

Nevertheless, the seeds of destabilization still are present. While terrorist bombers have eased their attacks, they still move with impunity. A bomb exploded last week at the home of Antônio Lopes Cardoso, the left-wing Socialist Deputy, causing considerable damage but no victims. Lopes Cardoso, who had just resigned as Minister of Agriculture, was under fierce attack by conservative farmers and by his own party's right wing for his agrarian reform policies.

The bombing stirred universal protest and strong pressure for the reorganization of the security forces, which already seems to be having its effect. But the Soares Government, has made little headway toward its principal objective: reviving the economy. The balance of payments deficit is estimated at about \$1.165 billion this year, unemployment is over 15 percent, production is lagging—Portugal imports over 50 percent of its food—and the level of private investment is low.

The Government has initiated an austerity program that has resulted in widespread public outcry and seems to have hurt most those who can least afford it. A 25-to-31 percent increase in the price of public transport caused general disgruntlement and riots at the Lisbon ferry. There was even more protest against a forced savings plan that substituted government bonds for workers' usual Christmas bonus. Living costs have veered sharply upward with a new 20-to-30 percent surcharge on imported goods and a 60 percent increase on "superfluous or luxury" imports such as shellfish, candy, wines, tobacco, perfumes, furs and jewelry. The middle class has been hard hit by continually rising property and professional taxes.

Measures to restore social calm have not reassured management but have enraged the labor unions. One new ruling limits fringe benefits, overtime and sick leave and sets a 40-to-45-hour legal work week. Another measure authorizes dismissal for a wide array of "just causes." There is also a proposal to bar strikes in vital services. The decree setting up a single national union confederation, dominated by the Communist Party, has been revoked and there have been unsuccessful attempts to establish a parallel organization.

At the same time, the Government has moved to correct some of the excesses committed under the Communist-dominated agrarian reform program. About 100 illegally occupied farms have been returned to their owners but there are many more claims. A ruling last week provides for indemnities for nationalized property—paid in government bonds, which is unlikely to make the beneficiaries very happy. There also have been moves toward social reform. Work has begun on an important new housing program and a national health service. But the general complaint is: too little and too slow.

In sum, Mr. Soares is trying to restore economic and social order in this country but he is meeting strong resistance, even from within his own party. The left wing of the Socialist Party, who form a vocal minority, have openly attacked the Soares Government for its "procapitalist" labor policies.

Nevertheless, the Government's efforts to stabilize the revolution have won broad international support, although until recently this has been largely verbal. Two weeks ago, however, a meeting of the European Free Trade Association confirmed that a \$100 million fund has been set up to develop small and medium industry in Portugal. Then last week it was announced that the Ford Administration had approved a \$300 million emergency loan to Portugal and would seek Congressional consent to participate in a long-term \$1.5 billion consortium with West European countries, namely Germany, to help this country.

Mr. Soares was enthusiastic, saying that the large American loan was "a demonstration of confidence" in Portugal's young democracy and in its Socialist Government. "Now the conditions have been created for economic recovery," he declared. "We have the necessary political and military stability, a new far-reaching development plan and the political determination to carry out our projects."

Last week, the Government presented its economic plan for 1977, which is to be debated by the legislature. In essence, the plan forecasts a substantial increase in public and private investments in productive sectors, a reduction in consumption, increased expenditures for social services, price controls on essential food items and the creation of 125,000 new jobs.

There were protests against the continued high defense expenditures, now that the colonial wars are over and Portugal is demobilizing its oversized armed forces. Nevertheless, initial reaction was favorable. The plan does not solve the country's economic crisis, but the feeling was that it shows the way out.

Marvine Howe is a correspondent for The New York Times, based in Lisbon.

Echeverria Defending Reforms

Conservatives In Mexico Are Sure Their Day Is at Hand

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY—After being on the defensive for the last six years under President Luis Echeverria Alvarez, Mexico's conservative middle and upper classes are now confident that the country's current economic troubles will force President-elect José López Portillo to move sharply and rapidly to the right.

Even before Mr. López Portillo takes office Dec. 1, conservative groups are not only openly denigrating the performance of President Echeverria, but also trying to force the hand of his successor. Even the United States State Department, long irritated by Mr. Echeverria's militant advocacy of the interests of developing nations, is making no secret of its belief that, with inflation and unemployment on the rise following the recent devaluation of the peso, an economically vulnerable Mexico will be obliged to seek a more tranquil and passive relationship with Washington.

Aware of the gathering of conservative forces, however. Mr. Echeverria seems determined to prevent a reversal of his reformist policies. Rather than quietly leave office, he has launched an offensive against "reactionaries" and "minorities" in a clear effort to mobilize and alert leftist opinion.

Heightening the nervousness that traditionally accompanies changes of government in Mexico, the ideological confrontation of the last six years has therefore become particularly bitter during the final weeks of the Echeverna Administration, causing serious political unrest and further undermining confidence in the economy.

Following a substantial new outflow of capital late last month, the Government was forced to devalue the peso. The currency, which maintained a fixed parity with the dollar for 22 years, has now lost over half its value since Aug. 31. Adding to the shock caused by these devaluations in an economy preoccupied with monetary stability, scores of rumors have been provoking anxiety among businessmen. One such rumor that Mr. Echeverria would use the army in order to remain in office after Dec. 1 became so strong that senior military officers were brought out to reiterate their support for the constitution.

But even independent observers feel that much of the present uncertainty arises from Mr. Echeverria's reluctance to surrender power, even to a hand-picked successor from





President Echeverria and President-elect Lopez Portillo of Mexico.

the same long-ruling party and with whom he has maintained a close friendship for 30 years.

Although Mr. López Portillo was chosen to be the next Mexican President more than 13 months ago, he remains a mystery to most Mexicans, cautiously avoiding any criticism of the outgoing administration and giving only vague hints about his policies.

In contrast, with only days left in office, Mr. Echeverria continues to hold on to the political spotlight, leading a caravan of politicians on a valedictory tour of the country, inaugurating projects, making provocative speeches, being praised by sycophantic party officials and unavoidably coming under more suspicion.

Yet, even if Mr. López Portillo wished to pursue the same policies as his predecessor — and presumably that was Mr. Echeverría's intention in picking him — Mexico's essentially authoritarian system demands strong government and would oblige the new President to impose his authority on the country, even at the risk of clashing with Mr. Echeverria. Mr. López Portillo's personality is so different from that of Mr. Echeverria, more intellectual less rhetorical, more pragmatic, less visionary, that new policies would be expected almost automatically.

However, more than anything else, the poor shape of the country that he will inherit — more politically divided than at any time since the 1968 student movement, economically weaker than at any time since 1954—will probably define the ideological coloring of his administration. Even leftist intellectuals seem to agree with conservatives that a swing to the right in the coming years is inevitable. To avoid the danger of a right-wing rebellion, perhaps supported by some army elements, Mr. López Portillo must reunite the country by appeasing conservative opinion, and to ensure a recovery of the economy, he must persuade Mexican and foreign businessmen to resume investing.

With their hand strengthened by Mexico's desperate need for new foreign credit, commercial bankers and the International Monetary Fund are now in a position to lay down the law. In exchange for loans exceeding \$2 billion since the first devaluation, three months ago, they have already told Mr. López Portillo he has no choice but to improve strict austerity and slash government spending. They are prepared to add to Mexico's \$23 billion foreign debt and are able to do so — last week Mexico secured an \$800 million European loan, its largest single commercial loan eyer — because of continuing confidence in the country's basic political stability and optimism over its important new oil reserves. But new pressure on Mexico to accelerate crude oil exports, currently running at only 125,000 barrels per day, is inevitable.

Similarly, organized labor, pampered by the Echeverria Administration, can look forward cheerlessly to controlled wages and higher prices, the quid pro quo that the private sector is demanding for a resumption of investment.

Because of the strengthening of leftist political groups during the Echeverria Administration, on the other hand, protests at these measures in the form of strikes and peasant land invasions could merely force the new government further to the right.

The role of Mr. Echeverria will be crucial: He could use his influence over labor and peasant organizations to make austerity acceptable: or he could encourage protests and force Mr. López Porfillo even deeper into alliance with private sector.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. Lopez Portillo's domestic difficulties will be so immediate that he can be expected to give less priority to foreign affairs and may slowly abardon Mr. Echeverria's fervent campaign for a "new world economic order."

The basic principles of Mexico's foreign policy will be

maintained, among them, a formal commitment to the devel-

oping world and an "open-doors" policy for Latin American

Alon Riding, a journalist based in Mexico City, writes frequently on Latin American subjects for The Review.

Chile's Official Withdrawal Is Further Harm to an Effort at Economic Integration

ne Latin Andean Pact Is Not Working Out

By JONAHAN KANDELL

JANEIRO—Latin American political and economic

1 has been a dream ever since the days of Simon

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1 has been the Modean Pact, an

2 association formed in 1969 by Chile, Peru, Ecua
2 and Colombia, and joined by Venezuela in 1973.

2 up sought to promote freer trade among mem
2 capital and technical resources, and allocate in
2 duction more rationally among their countries.

2 was that only an entity encompassing 70 million

2 onsumers could develop a fall-scale, modern indus
2 omy capable of giving the Andean nations the

3 deal with multinational companies and powerful

e Andean Pact has suffered a serious setback—fatal one—since Chile has officially withdrawn bership.

Parture of Chile not only deprived the pact of

such as Brazil

member, but also underscored the contradictions ulties that developing nations everywhere face uggle to achieve supranational unity and a stronging position vis-ā-vis industrialized countries and said firms. Foremost among these difficulties factoring policies aimid abrupt changes in the political mic philosophy among individual nations. Three a right-wing military dictatorship came to power trough a violent coup against the late President allende Gossens. A drastic about-face took place

policies, domestic and foreign.
g effort was immediately undertaken to erase
e Government's socialistic programs, to roll back
pation of the state in the economy, to stimulate
te enterprise and to woo back foreign investment,
forced a break with the Andean Pact by objecting
y to controls on foreign investment and the high
ed on imports.

ed on imports.

Ig the growing nationalist sentiment of the late

arily 70's, the Andean group had limited profit

s by foreign companies to 14 percent, later in20 percent. The part had also stipulated that
ms would have to "fade out" their control over
prises over 15 years.

leans pointed out that ever since the Andean Kandell is a correspondent for The New York ed in Brazil, who also reports regularly from

h American nations.

Pact rules went into effect, foreign investment in local industries and services has dried up. By contrast, Brazil, whose regional hegemony the pact sought to counteract, has attracted more than \$5 billion in foreign investment over the last decade.

Sergio de Castro, the Chilean Minister of Economy, broadened the attack further and converted it into a debate—which is currently being echoed throughout the developing world—on the merits and disadvantages of foreign investment and multinationals. As the Chileans see it, the continued absence of foreign investment will mean that the Andean countries will have to depend on local capital to achieve a desirable growth rate. The buildup of local capital could only occur through some sort of forced program of national savings, and that could only come from a cutback in consumption.

Mr. de Castro argued before the other Andean Pact members that foreign investment brought other advantages such as technology, managerial talents and knowledge of markets that could not easily be obtained eisewhere.

that could not easily be obtained eisewhere.

"We cannot compromise ourselves on a regional scale with the same model which failed us so absolutely within our own country," Mr. De Castro said.

Opponents of the Chilean arguments say that unfettered foreign investment in the past did not bring about an economic takeoff in their countries. There is also widespread criticism of multinational firms for failing to do enough to transfer new technology, to spread managerial talent to local firms and to help the host countries penetrate markets abroad.

Although the Chileans feel certain that their continued membership in the Andean Pact discouraged foreign capital from entering their country, other critics argue that Chile's economic depression, high inflation and repressive political image have also helped scare away foreign investors.

Beyond these theoretical arguments, the Chileans also questioned the practical accomplishments of the Andean Pact in terms of trade and industrial development among the members. The pact has moved at a snail's pace to decide how new industries would be shared. After seven years of the pact's existence, legal trade among members has reached only \$900 million annually. That is probably less than the value of contraband that pours across their countries' borders.

The Chileans, for example, carried out a two-way trade with their Andean Pact partners that amounted to about \$150 million last year, compared with \$I billion in their commerce with nonmembers, Argentina and Brazil.

Officials of the Andean Pact have tried to see a silver lining in Chile's departure. According to Diego Moreno Jaramillo, Colombia's Minister of Integration, who is chairman

of the pact's executive commission, the argument with Chile had stagnated progress within the Andean group for a year. He said that now "it will be possible to give definite push to industrial programs that have been under intense study."

The continent has been swept by right-wing military regimes which have different ideas on foreign investment. The Bolivians are known to sympathize with the Chilean attitude. Within Peru and Ecuador, whose military regimes have recently undergone coups by more conservative elements, there exists strong pressure among business groups against the pact's investment rules. It is no coincidence that the Andean members with the most investment capital—oil-rich Venezuela and Colombia, with its booming coffee exports—have recently been the strongest defenders of the pact.



The Nation

In Summary

Outsider Carter Acts the Insider While He Waits

Although two months remain before Jimmy Carter is inaugurated the attention normally focused on the Presidency has already begun to shift toward him and away from the man who will hold the office until Jan. 20. That shift is also normal for transition periods, but Mr. Carter has accentuated it by adopting a more Presidential style of activity than many of his predecessors as President-elect.

While taking pains to emphasize that President Ford continues to hold the full responsibilities and powers of the Presidency, Mr. Carter has held two formal press conferences in which he expressed himself on a wide range of foreign and domestic matters. In his second one, last week, he said he expected to work compatibly with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, that the oil-exporting nations should refrain from raising prices at their meeting next month and that his proposed health and welfare programs would be partly paid for by reducing the cost of the bureaucracy through reorganization.

Mr. Carter has also moved relatively promptly to establish liaison with the Congressional leadership. Meeting with a delegation of House and Senate Democratic leaders in Georgia, he asked them to work for legislation that would facilitate his reorganization plans by giving him authority to restructure agencies subject to Congressional vero.

In the choice of his Cabinet, too, Mr. Carter has been displaying deliberateness. He has let it be known that he had asked his staff to recommend for consideration at least four qualified persons for each available position: one who had experience in Washington, one who did not, one black and one woman. The nominating procedure is evidently intended to give substance to a major theme of his campaign, that "fresh faces" are needed in govern-

Mr. Carter also suffered one of the embarrassments of high office, staff dissension. An important adviser on energy and natural resource policy, Joseph Browder, resigned from the Carter transition team. He asserted that he had been denied proper access to the President-elect because other staff members considered his views anathema to the oil industry, whose confidence in the new administration they were attempting to keep. A spokesman for the transition team said Mr. Browder had departed because he had not been offered a sufficiently important Government post.

During the transition in 1960 from the Eisenhower to the Kennedy Administration and in 1968 from the Johnson to the Nixon Administration, the incoming chief executives also tended to take the limelight. Mr. Carter's activity may be standing out in sharper relief because of Mr. Ford's relative inactivity. The President had been vacationing until last week, which he spent working quietly in the White House on his forthcoming budget proposal and his final State of the Union message.

Church in Plains Was Not Alone

When the Plains, Ga., Baptist Church decided last week, with the encouragement of its most famous member, to end its policy of excluding blacks, the congregation belatedly joined the majority of the nation's churches in abandoning racial barriers. But despite the disappearance of explicit exclusionary rules, most churches in the United States remain segregated in practice for many of the same reasons that foster de facto school desegregation.

Racial separateness in churches is apparently a reflection of segregated residential patterns that are reinforced by a form of "white flight" whenever blacks begin appearing in numbers in a formerly predominantly white congregation. Despite espousal of racial justice by the national church governing bodies, few congregations have taken the initiative in trying to recruit black members. Only about 2 percent of Roman Catholic church members are black, and the largest black enrollment in any of the major Protestant sects is 3 percent.

sects is 3 percent.

There are positive, as well as negative, reasons for separateness in religion. The predominantly black churches—there are six main denominations—that originally developed as a response to official racial exclusiveness by whites have maintained their hold on their members, in part by stressing the importance of black racial pride in a religious context.

President-elect Jimmy Carter's role in persuading the Plains church to rescind its ban on blacks may presage other personal and official acts by Mr. Carter on behalf of racial equality, a principle to which Mr. Carter has declared himself committed. He is expected to appoint more blacks than has been customary to important Government posts and to enroll his 8-year-

old daughter, Amy, in a largely black Washington, D.C., public school. One aspect of the current controver-

One aspect of the current controversy over the proper scope of judicial remedies for school segregation may be decided soon by the United States Supreme Court. The Court has agreed to hear a case that could determine the extent of the judiciary's authority to order curriculum changes as well as pupil reassignment to cure the effects of official discrimination.

The case involves the Detroit school system. The United States District Court there accompanied a pupil transfer order with a ruling that several educational programs must be extended throughout the city to make up for disadvantages suffered by some students because of official discrimination in the past. The State of Michigan, which was ordered to help pay for the programs, contends that the District Court exceeded its authority.

7 Governors Get Together, Maybe

The Governors of seven northeastern states have gotten together to try to draw both attention and aid from the Federal Government, figuring this is the right time, with a Democrat elected to the White House.

The meeting predictably included proclamations of harmony among the seven, a plan for economic recovery and a pledge of support in principle from a high policy advisor to the President-elect, Jimmy Carter. But these exchanges are a long way from action. In practice the states involved have conflicting needs and interests. New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, for instance, are in competition for new industry.

In his campaign Mr. Carter was sympathetic and promised action on the problems of cities in general and of the Northeast in particular. As President, he will have a national constituency and the interests of several regions to balance. The Northeast sends 78 Democrats to Congress. But the representatives of all the other sections there, regardless of party, far outweigh them, and national policies designed primarily to promote the welfare of one area are not likely to be easily approved.

There may also be new questions about whether anything ought be done. A Government study released last week questions the Governors' primary premise, that the Northeast needs help because it has lost jobs and industry to the South.

The Governors called for an "economic and energy development corporation" that would raise low-interest money for the Northeast through Federally guaranteed loans.

Assassination Panel Organizing

A recently impaneled House Select Committee on Assassinations has announced as expected that it plans to gather a preliminary staff of 170 lawyers and homicide detectives for its parallel investigations of the murders of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The formation of the special committee had been urged by a number of assassination "students" and potential conspiracy theorists in both Houses after a Senate subcommittee on intelligence reported earlier this year that the findings of the Warren Commission may have been based on incomplete information.

The House committee has asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency for all documents and memoranda pertaining to the killings.

Miss Hearst Out On High Bail

Patricia Hearst has been freed from custody for the first time since her capture more than a year ago, evidently because the courts having jurisdiction over her are convinced that there is no danger of her fleeing. The Hearst family posted bail of \$1.5 million.

The decision to release Miss Hearst may also have been influenced by a concern for her safety in prison. She was recently transferred from one prison to another because of reported threats to her life

Miss Hearst was convicted on Federal bank robbery charges and sentenced to seven years in prison.

Miss Hearst also faces state charges

of assault, kidnapping and robbery in Los Angeles. The judge in whose court she is to stand trial on Jan. 10 concurred in the decision to grant bail.

Caroline Pand Mercen.

Caroline Rand Herron and R. V. Denenberg

Correction

In The Week in Review of Nov. 7 it was incorrectly stated that the election of Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio increased the number of United States Senators who are Jewish to a record four. Edward Zorinsky. Democrat of Nebraska, is also Jewish, and his election Nov. 2 brings the number to five.

Suspicions of Bungling and Coverup Still Linger



President and Mrs. Kennedy, with John Connally, shortly before the President was sho

Why Another Assassination Inquiry?

By DAVID BINDER

WASHINGTON—On the eve of the 13th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, subpoenas have been sent out in search of new information about his murder and that of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The investigation launched by the newly established House Select Committee on Assassinations is the sixth to be conducted on a large scale by Government officials since the 35th President was killed Nov. 22, 1963.

Why another inquiry? Its origins appear to lie in four quarters: a Congressman who is a self-styled "student of political assassinations," another who genuinely believes in a conspiracy theory, a group of black Congressmen who feel the King murder investigation was a cover-up and, finally, some Capitol Hill investigators who feel there are still unpursued trails. Beyond these motives is a lingering suspicion on the Hill that even if the Central Intelligence Agency's past misdeeds have been largely exposed, parallel misdeeds of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its long-time chief, J. Edgar Hoover, remain largely unexamined.

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez, the promoter of the new House inquiry into the Kennedy and King murders, said it was "the summer of 1973—Watergate—when I became inwardly very disturbed, that certain questions became very poignant, that the F.B.I. would destroy documents, and that the C.I.A. was corruptible." Mr. Gonzalez, author of the resolution on Feb. 19, 1975, that eventually gave birth to the new committee, said "Watergate raised to a serious level questions I had suppressed before."

The Texas Democrat, by his own account, has been interested in the Kennedy assassination ever since that day in Dallas when he rode in the motorcade that carried the President to his death. Mr. Gonzalez, who was 47 years old at the time, began

collecting a private file on the murder. He has remained a "student of political assassinations" ever since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert F. Kennedy and the attempt on the life of Alabama's Gov. George Wallace to his interests.

Earlier this year he found an ally in Thomas N. Downing, Democrat of Virginia, who, after viewing an amateur film of the Kennedy assassination, concluded that the shooting was not the work of Lee Harvey Oswald but of a conspiracy. The two Representatives were impressed by the work of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which had exhaustively studied the possible relationship between the killing of President Kennedy and the C.L.A.'s plots to assassinate Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro. That study began with Senator Richard S. Schweiker's statement that the 1964 Warren Commission report would "collapse like a house of cards" when all the evidence was in and ended last June with the less confident conclusion that there were still "promising leads" to be explored.

Representatives Downing and Gonzalez fought to get an investigation of their own approved. The Rules Committee was evenly split for a time. A staunch opponent was B.F. Sisk, the California Democrat, who declared on the House floor on Sept. 17: "Let me urge my colleagues, for gosh sakes, if they have any respect, as I'm sure they do, for the dollars of our taxpayers, let us vote this resolution down." He spoke of "witch hunters" with "some kind of melodramatic desire for the morbid" and observed: "I thought we put this thing to bed a long time ago, but it seems to ever raise its head." Eunice Shriver, sister of the Kennedys was among those condemning the proposal as a publicity-seeking ac-

But new disclosures of F.B.I. coverups in the investigation of Martin Luther King's death breathed new life into the cause championed by Representatives since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert tant members of the Conglessional his including Waiter Fauntroy, delegate from of Columbia, and Ronald V. Dellums, he California.

Mr. Gonzalez was also persuasive and cans, including the influential John Andronois, arguing that it was time for a factor Congressonal study of political assessment country. "Enough time has elapsed to get tive and unimpassioned view of the form

In the end, he and Mr. Downing had 80 of A distinctive feature of the new und that it will be conducted by a professional tive attorney, Richard A. Sprague, who had than 60 first-degree murder cases as a print pennsylvania. Previous investigations in men and lawyers as staff aides, Mr. Gui but never a professional prosecutor.

Is there, in fact, more to be learned;

much-discussed and long past events at and King murders? A Capitol Hill offici with the Senate investigation that ended said last week that "some things are with and that the Senate committee had past good hole in the Warren Commission reports of the Official was referring principally to clusive F.B.I. reports about a Chan a Rolando Culelo who apparently worked C.I.A. and Mr. Castro, and about myster who slipped out of the United States are shortly after the assassination 13 years as The latest "new" piece of evidence, ind Lee Harvey Oswald was known to be Castro government of his murder plan is dum by J. Edgar Hoover to the Warren It has been dismissed by Congressional as "insignificant."

David Binder is a reporter in the War reau of The New York Times.

So Far, Not Much Sign that Carter's Will Be Different

Cabinet-Choosing Process

Seldom Varies

By JOHN HERBERS

WASHINGTON—When the White House is passing from one party to another, the President-elect traditionally uses the process of selecting a Cabinet for much more than assembling the people who will hold top positions in his Administration. He uses it for healing the wounds of the election campaign, for consolidating his position among friendly interests, for broadening his base of support in Congress and across the country and for quieting fears about his approaching Presidency.

Jimmy Carter is proving to be no exception in the politics of Cabinet selection despite the fact that he ran a campaign which emphasized a new measure of independence from the groups to which Democratic Presidential candidates are usually beholden: labor unions, political machines, public officeholders, and others.

While Mr. Carter was talking by telephone last week to leaders of various interest groups to solicit their recommendations for the Cabinet, Hamilton Jordan, who mapped the campaign that made Mr. Carter President-elect, was telling reporters that the Cabinet would be a mix of "women, men, people of different races, people of different philosophical views." At the same time, the Carter staff, concerned about indications that the economy may be in trouble once again, sought to reassure the business community that they would not appoint to the top economic policy posts persons incompatible with prevailing views among businessmen.

Mr Carter has been maintaining close liaison with labor leaders, blacks, environmentalists, members of Congress, governors, mayors and others whose support he wants after January 20. As a result, the lists of people purported to be under consideration for important posts are long, so long as to be mean-

Mr. Carter may, as he promises, have a Cabinet of persons broadly representative of the electorate, fully authorized to run their departments and able to influence policy. But Washington which has wit-



J.P. Laffont/Syr

nessed a series of broken promises in recent years, is skeptical. The rhetoric of Cabinet selection and the outcome have been two different things in the

Exactly eight years ago, President-elect Richard M. Nixon, assembling his government in New York's Pierre Hotel, was promising a strong Carretaries who would be permitted wife don't want a Cabinet of yesmen," he said ed that it would contain a Democrat Republican and a black. His Cabinet is have none of those, and the persons were subsequently downgraded as author centered in the White House.

The politics of Cabinet selection is important after a narrow victory—as we'er's this year, Mr. Nixon's in 1968 and los dy's in 1960—in order to broaden supplement Administration. But the lack of a Presidents call an electoral landship tie the President elect to practices of making his choice.

Search for Independence

Mr. Carter, for example, who points
as an outsider, free of Washington esa
sought to run a campaign independent of
C.LO. hierarchy, the mainstay of tradite
cratic support. Yet the election tumes
so close that Mr. Carter could well have
of the large industrial states had not the
conducted the most extensive get-out-be
in its history. Thus, it would come so
if Mr. Carter veered from the tradition
labor leaders veto power-over prosperies
tor Secretary of Labor. Nor can his lack

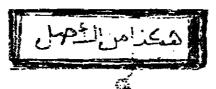
date encourage him to break from such per as appointing a Westerner as Secretary of or or making all of his choices accept members of Congress.

President Nixon could appoint a Catood middle-class conservative males because elected largely with the support of what is feeling pressure to put blacks, other is feeling pressure to put blacks, other and people who support the needs of its and people who support the needs of its cities into high positions because the voltage.

sources was heavily weighted in his favor.

Although Mr. Carter ram an anti-Wish paign, he is expected to draw some of his from Congress or from the gool of old ise from Congress or from the gool of old ise who have been a part of the Washington years. The reason is that he needs by years. The reason is that he needs by years the reason is that he needs by years the reason is that he needs he would had he won by a white ment would had he won by a white ment and resident has talked of achieving helmis net with respect to interest and shallow that he won the same carter, like his predecessors, is seeing that he won the same carter, like his predecessors, is seeing that he won the same carter, like his predecessors, is seeing the carter, like his predecessors, is seeing the carter, like his predecessors and the pressures of campaign decise and the form an administration that can function

John Herbers is deputy chief 0



Steingut, New York State Assembly Speaker, and his son, Robert, a New Regents' Attack Is Only the Latest York City Councilman, with "corrupt use of position," was thrown out. The Appellate Division of State Supreme Court in Brooklyn held that the Kings egion County grand jury had lacked jurisdic-How Fair Are tion in the case, in which it was charged that a job had been offered in return for a campaign contribution. Mr. Nadjari was accused by the New York State Commission of Inves-

Schools Paid tigation of having leaked information to the press; public officials were said to have been "improperly tarnisheo." For by Taxes Mr. Nadjari, who was removed last June after a bitter dispute with Governor Carey, said the charges were not On Property? **Nursing-Home Scandal Grows**

Abuse of Medicaid programs has

aiready been extensively recorded as

affecting most aspects of health care

for the poor in New York State, Last

week, however, there were new

charges that if true will add many

millions of dollars to the Government's

losses because of fraudulent practices.

nursing-home prosecutor, said he had

found in a new area of inquiry that

kickbacks by suppliers of nursing

homes were widespread and that "our

indication is that the same kinds of

abuses are found in all provider serv-

ices in Medicaid," including hospitals

and pharmacies, which are outside his

Mr. Hynes amounced the indict-

ments of 26 nursing-home owners,

operators, employees and suppliers in

connection with alleged kickback

schemes, said to average \$500 per sup-

plier per nursing home. The indict-

ments were handed down by grand

juries in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx

and Nassau and Suffolk Counties, all

conducting investigations of the nurs-

ing home industry, which gets 33

There apparently were three major

kickback schemes: A supplier would

bill the nursing home for more than

the amount owed; a supplier would

issue a false invoice for deliveries that

were never made; a supplier would

add nonexistent items to an otherwise

In each case, Mr. Hynes said, the

nursing home would pay the amount

requested to the supplier, who would

give back to the home, in cash, the

difference between the actual amount

owed and the inflated bill. The nurs-

ing home then would file the inflated

bill with the State Health Department

for Medicaid reimbursement. The sup-

plier made the kickback to get the

Previous to these indictments, Mr.

Hynes had concentrated on nursing

home operators. Those inquiries re-

sulted in the indictment and conviction

last summer of Bernard Bergman, con-

sidered the central figure in the nurs-

ing home industry in New York State.

on charges of fraudulently billing Medi-

caid for \$2.5 million. Mr. Bergman is

now serving a four-month prison sen-

tence on Federal crimes and faces

This is what has been learned so

Hospitals. State investigators charge

another sentence on state charges.

far with respect to Medicaid €buses,

in the \$3 billion-a-year state program:

that hospitals in some cases needlessly

admitted patients just to receive Medi-

caid funds, and in other cases billed

the program for days when patients

had been sent home on weekend visits,

again to realize the Medicaid funds.

The legality of these practices is un-

certain, but one state official said

physicians have been suspended from

Medicaid practice. Some "Medicaid

mills," neighborhood facilities where

generally low-income patients can get

a range of services under the same

roof, have been closed following al-

leged abuses. One of the abuses is

known as "Ping-Ponging," in which

patients come to the facility with a

single complaint and are referred to a number of specialists. Another abuse

is known as "family ganging," in which

a physician treats all members of a

family accompanying a sick person

discrepancy of 500 to 800 percent in

the rates of tests available to private

persons and those charged Medicaid

far less extensive inquiries of Medicaid

fraud in 23 other states, including New

Jersey. In that state, about 15 doctors

have been indicted and investigations

of nursing nomes are continuing. There

is no known Medicaid investigation

Only a few years ago, a small car

such as a Volkswagen cost about

\$2,000. If insurance companies have

their way, some New York automobile

owners will be paying that much just

Those premiums have risen sharply

for everyone in the last year but most

dramatically for those in the so-called

assigned risk pool. Now the insurance

industry, citing continued high medical

costs and prices of car parts, wents

the state to approve a rate increase

for motorists in the pool that could

double what some are paying.

under way in Connecticut.

Car Insurance

At a Premium

for their annual premiums.

There have been similar although

whether they are sick or not.

Physicians and Medicaid mills. Some

they "smacked of fraud."

percent of all Medicaid funds.

jurisdiction.

legitimate bill.

Charles J. Hynes, the state's special

When European educators visit American schools, the one feature that usually surprises them most is the extent to which education in the United States is a local

Unlike most other nations, the United States has no central ministry of education with the power to set curriculums, establish hiring policy and, above all, allocate money to run the schools. Education is legally the responsibility of the states and except for Hawaii, they for all practical purposes delegate this responsibility to local

Only 10 percent of that came from the Federal Government. Nearly half—18 percent—came from local taxes. while the remaining 42 percent went to local districts



the property tax. This method is now under attack throughout the country as unfairly penalizing poor com-

Last week, the New York State Board of Regents proposed a sweeping revision of the formula by which the state allocates its school aid, one that would keep total expenditures more or less constant but gradually shift money over a four-year period from wealthy to

Beginning with a 1971 California case, Serrano v. Priest, state courts have ruled that systems based on the property tax violate equal protection clauses of the Federal and state constitutions. The reasoning is not that property taxes per se are wrong but that the effect in most systems is to favor communities with high property values. In keeping with these decisions, about 20 states have taken steps in the last few years to reform their systems of financing schools.

The systems in use in the three states in the metropolitan area vary considerably in their approach and, judging by current legal trends, their apparent constitu-

The most regressive system is that of Connecticut, where the state treasury provides only 22 percent of the \$1.2 billion now being spent on public schools each year (next year the figure will drop to 20 percent).

The basic element of the state aid formula is a flat grant of \$250 to each student based on average enrollment at the beginning of October and May. This means that the state provides the same amount to a student in West Hartford, which in 1974-75 spent an average of \$1,834 per pupil, as it does to a student in Griswold, which spent \$779.

At the other extreme, New Jersey has a newly-enacted system of distributing school aid that has been accepted by the courts and is based on the principle of equalizing taxing power. In brief, the state assumes that every district should have the equivalent of \$86,000 of property values for each student. If a district has less the state in effect subsidizes its property tax to bring it up to that

There are, however, some qualifications. Every district, no matter how wealthy, must receive enough aid to cover 10 percent of its school expenses, and no district, however poor, can receive aid above the level of spending of the 65th percentile on a scale of affluence, now \$1,528 per pupil.

Thus, a district with \$43,000 in property value beaind each pupil would be eligible for reimbursement for exactly half of its expenses. If it taxed itself at the rate of \$2 for each \$100 of assessed valuation, it would raise \$860. The state would then provide 50 percent of the upper limit of \$1,528, or \$764. The district would then have a total of \$1,624 (\$860 plus \$764) to spend on each

As a result of the new system in New Jersey the level of state aid has risen from 29 percent of total expenses last year to 38 percent this year. It is expected to stabilize at about 40 percent next year.

The present New York system, which has been in effect since the 1920's, lies somewhere in between the other two It begins by assuming a base level of expenditure of \$1,200 and then subtracting \$15 for each \$1,000 of full valuation per pupil.

For example, a district with \$50,000 in ratables per pupil would receive \$1,200 minus 15 times \$50 or \$450 per pupil. A poorer district with \$20,000 in ratables would receive \$1,200 minus 15 x \$20 or \$900. In theory this system, which along with several forms

of categorical aid supplies 39 percent of school expenses, is relatively progressive, for it makes state aid inversely proportional to local wealth, as measured by property values. The problem, though, is that it has never been For one thing, the law mandates a minimum grant of

\$350 for each pupil. Thus any district with \$80,000 or more in ratables per pupil should, under the formula, receive no aid. In practice, it still gets the \$360, or about the same as a district with \$63,000 in ratables. In addition, the Legislature each year has adopted a

"save harmless" provision under which no district can receive less state aid than it did the year before. As a result, virtually every district is now receiving more funds than it should under the formula. Officials say that \$330 million, or 14 percent, of the \$2.3 billion of state operating aid, goes for "save harmless" funds. The reasons for this are complicated but boil down to

two factors: districts that are losing enrollment are not finding their state aid reduced proportionately, and the formula does not take into account the effects of inflation. When property values go up, the level of state aid (the difference between \$1,200 and 15 multiplied by the property value per pupil in thousands of dollars) goes down. Thus more and more districts are forced into the "save harmless" category.

The Regents' proposal would eliminate both of these deviations from the relatively progressive basic formula. It contains no provision for a minimum grant and calculates aid on the basis of average actual expenses rather than a fixed figure.

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether this proposal, even if it becomes law, would satisfy the courts.

Edward B. Fiske is education editor of The New York

ath, Taxes and her Rates **Utilities**

litany of inevitabilities probably to be amended to read death. and utility rate increases. Both York Telephone Company and dated Edison are back asking

immary ;

probably will get most of what ant. The record shows that so he 1970's the telephone compaasked the State Public Service sion for an aggregate of rate s amounting to \$1.35 billion; spission has said yes to \$1.16

time company has had six rate in the last six years, includthe last 13 months totalling on. This time it wants an of \$393 million, or 12.5 perigo into errect tate. commission to consider the ap-

Edison wants its sixth increase ral gas charges in six years, one ould add 93 cents a month to rage residential bill \$14.41 if sed for heating as well as cookhich is the case for 133,000 cusabout half in the city and half chester County.

1969, the average monthly tial telephone bill in New York us risen almost 100 per cent, 12.60 to \$24.84; rates are about ne in the suburbs, with some ins, and slightly lower upstate. same period, the regional Con-Price Index has gone up only

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arcent. company says its increases have revitable and the conditions that them so are not likely to change next few years. Officials say frequent requests for help in the s is a kind of "catch-up ball": had not had a rate increase for

ars before 1970. en more, the phone company, like rone else, has had rapidly increasthor and equipment costs. But unveryone else its phone rate rises the expenses of all other busi-...and therefore raise the cost products they sell—and to al-Il individuals, increasing their

r higher wages. r the proposed rates, long-disalls would go up substantially. st of installing a new phone ise from \$18 to \$40, installing mision phone from \$4 to \$20. oposals rejected by the commismy phone rates to 20 cents, as ther states, and offering—only York City and Buffalo for now otion of time limits on calls a single message unit area. In rk, a customer's minimum bill be \$7.82 for 50 calls and he alk as long as he wanted on ithin his area. But if instead to keep each of these 50 calls 5 minutes, he would pay \$6.82. the price would go up with H over 5 minutes. The impact ntire package would be hardest where local calls cover larger

dison is seeking an extra \$34 in natural gas revenues an 11.8 percent increase, also in late 1977. There was no to change electricity rates, ave gone up six times in the

stility also approximated that it ked two ereas in the mid-Hudley, one near New Paltz, the 1 upper Red Hook, as possible a new generating station to rticipated power needs in the groups concerned with the nent already have said they ose both sites.

ents: it Nyquist . . .

itter dispute between the New ate Board of Regents and the ducation Commissioner, Ed-Nyquist, is over: Mr. Nyquist a dismissed.

egents long had held the conthat Mr. Nyquist, whose job idminster the system while the is policy, had been encroaching board's functions.

equal importance was an ideoal split between the increasnservative men chosen by the · ure to serve as Regents, and al Commissioner, whose active for school desegregation, in ir, was opposed by many Re-

rsely, Mr. Nyquist reportedly : the board was trying to inn his domain, Last spring, a of the Regents supported an ssful bill that would have iem the power to review the sioner's quasi-judicial rulings... e Regents' chief executive offi-Nyquist, who was appointed board in 1969, had enormous -perhaps more than any other m official in the country. He isdiction over all educational ons in New York and the distribution of nearly \$3 billion in State aid, in addition to regulatory and disciplinary authority over all professions

The vote to dismiss Mr. Nyquist by next June was 8 to 7. However, any inclination to reverse the decision appeared remote.

No possible successors have been named-one contender thought likely, Thomas D. Sheldon, a deputy commissioner, resigned in a show of support for Mr. Nyquist-but whoever the Regents select probably will have to agree to the reduction in powers that the Commissioner fought.

... And Take Up Other Matters

It was a busy week for the New York Board of Regents. The board said it is going to try to change what is generally regarded as the basic unfairness in the way state aid is distributed to school districts. Under pressure from the have-nots, and mindful of legal action seeking to overturn the present formula, the board last week proposed redistributing the state's \$3 billion in aid in such a way as to give New York City and half the poorer districts in the state more than they are getting now. The city, which now gets \$608 million a year, would receive \$42 million more, and the suburbs less.

It has been accepted for years, even by many who profit from it, that the distribution of school aid in New York is inequitable. Little has been done about it because districts that would Icse funds under a fairer system have been powerful enough in the State Legislature to prevent major change.

The Regents' proposal, in reducing aid to the better-off districts, many of them in suburban Westchester, Nassau and Rockland Counties, would probably mean higher property taxes for residents there, already heavily burdened. Their Albany legislators are expected to fight hard against the Regents' proposal.

Each year, in fact, a set-piece battle takes place in the Legislature over proposed changes, however minor, in the distribution of school aid; the suburban legislators align with those from rural districts to hold onto what is generally considered a disproportionate share of state assistance. These legislators gained their advantage when suburban and upstate voters achieved the balance of power on this

This year, however, significant reform might have a chance because. without it, the courts may force on the state a formula more painful for haves than that succes Regents. A suit initiated by Levittown, L.I., (which ironically would lose aid under the Regents' plan) and joined by New York City, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, contends that the heavy reliance on local property taxes for school funding is inherently unfair because wealthier districts are able to spend more than poorer ones. Some districts, for example, spend only \$1,000 per pupil, while others spend well over \$2,000. A ruling on the suit is expected by spring.

In New Jersey, a similar court test was decided in favor of the have-nots three years ago and a fairer method of financing public education went into effect last September. In Connecticut the question is also in the courts.

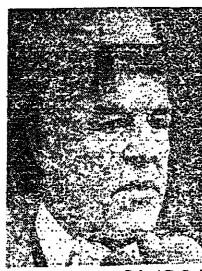
Judge-Elect Is Indicted

Robert T. Groh, a former New York City Sanitation Commissioner and now a Civil Court judge-elect, has been indicted on charges of bribery and grand larceny in connection with an alleged \$10,000 political contribution for a zoning change in Queens.

Mr. Groh, who has denied the charge, is one of the most prominent politicians to be indicted by a grand jury hearing evidence presented by the office of special State Prosecutor John F. Keenan, who succeeded the controversial Maurice H. Nadjari. There were additional major court developments

o John McGrath, a former official with the Long Island State Park Commission, was convicted of extorting more than \$22,000 from towing-service operators in return for granting them franchises. He was also found guilty

a An indictment charging Stanley



Robert T. Gron

last week concerning public officials: of income-tax evasion.

Even those not in the pool would Laboratories. New York City investibe affected since they, in effect, subsigators say they have found differences dize part of the coverage for the in rate structures in some laboratories others. The pool, once a repository for that they consider to be abusive of the accident-prone, is steadily growing the Medicaid program. An example: as companies become unwilling to Blood tests were available to private write new automobile policies, even individuals for \$2, while the fee for people with unblemished driving charged Medicaid patients was \$5. The officials said they found in general a

The State Insurance Department, which must pass on the requested increases, last week heard the following example of what could happen if the insurance firms get what they want:

An adult from Brecklyn with an intermediate-sized car and no history of accidents buys the minimum required liability coverage and \$100 deductible collision and comprehensive. His annual premium, now \$926, would rise to \$1,860. With a chargeable accident within the last three years, it would be \$2,120.

Some brokers warned that many motorists, unable to gay their premiums, would let their policies lapse cree their cars were registered and drive illegally, without any insurance at all.

New York City residents, already paying the highest rates, would be affected the most. If the same Brooklyn person lived in Hempstead, L.I., his yearly premium would go from \$580 to \$1,097. And while comparisons are difficult the equivalent coverage in New Jersey and Connecticut for someone in a "high-rate territory." like Brooklyn, would cost a little over \$500.

The requested increases, averaging 51.7 percent for compulsory liability and 94.8 percent for optional physical damage coverage, come amid complaints that the insurance industry is basing its automobile rates on faulty data. The burden, it is charged, now falls unfairly on the young and on poor city dwellers.

Although insurance companies defend their actuarial tables as sound, critics say there is "no credible statistical evidence" for the 161 classifications used to determine premiums, including age, sex, marital status, place of residence and amount of driving.

Two of the most important factors are age and residence. One study, by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, found no justification for the big difference between premiums paid by young drivers and old drivers in urban areas.

The reform suggested most frequently would rate drivers mainly on their accident records and history of violations. At least two states, Hawaii and North Carolina, have passed laws adopting such a system. But it is too early to tell how well they work.

The Suburban Budgets

Public budgets, which are among the indicators of economic health, can be political weather vanes as well, and in the metropolitan area they are pointing toward next year's elections.

Two county executives who will be up for re-election next November, Alfred B. DelBello of Westchester and Ralph G. Caso of Nassau, have proposed 1977 budgets that do not violate political tradition: They offer relatively tiny spending increases and slight but voterpleasing reductions in property taxes. Residents of Suffolk County have been less fortunate. There, County Executive John V. N. Klein, a Republican, does not face an election next year. And the Democratic-controlled Suffolk Legislature, which does, adopted last week a 1977 budget that is \$1.7

million larger than Mr. Klein had

wanted-\$578 million, an 8 percent in-

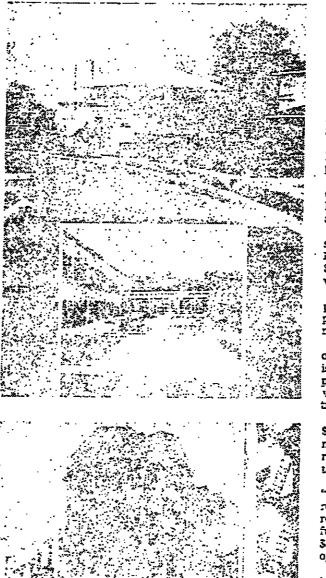
crease over this year. Political exigencies aside, the recommended budgets reflect a perceived need for continued government belttightening. Mr. DelBello, Westchester's first Democratic Executive, insisted welfare spending would not go up "by a single cent," a pledge he may have trouble keeping because of certain state requirements. It is possible he will have to reduce appropriations in

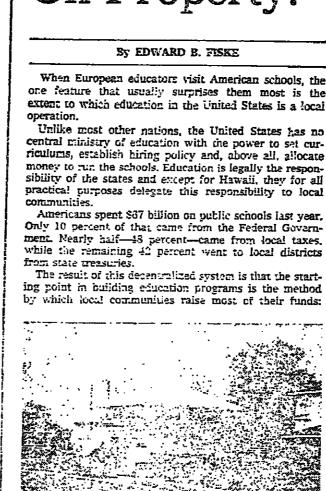
other, as yet unspecified, programs. His suggested \$399.3 million budget represents the smallest annual increase in 10 years, 6.2 percent. Property taxes, if the county Board of Legislators approves, would drop by an average of 7 cents, to \$22.3 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation.

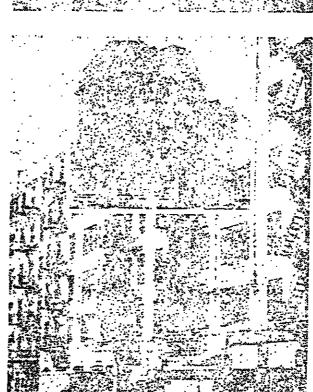
Similarly, Nassau's Mr. Caso, a Republican, wants a spending limit of \$796 million, only \$30 million more than this year, enabling property taxes for most residents to drop by 8 cents to \$7.45 for each \$100 of assessed valuation.

In neither Westchester nor Nassau would the slight tax cuts have much impact on homeowners. School district and town or village taxes represent most of their overall tax obligations; county levies are only a relatively small fraction.

Milton Leebaw







The Region/Continued

Ella Grasso's Two-Year Fall From Triumph

By MICHAEL KNIGHT

As the returns came in on election night and it became apparent that normally Democratic Connecticut was voting for Gerald Ford, a thought occurred to more than one political observer in Hartford: Had Ella Grasso cost the Democrats Connecticut? Had her unpopularity extended that far? The answer, after the pundits had been consulted, was "no." Or at least "not completely."

But the fact that the question had been asked at all underscored the dimensions of Connecticut's ongoing political drama, a combination Greek tragedy/soap opera in which a popular politician is chosen governor by an overwhelming margin and then seemingly rushes toward political self-destruction.

Only two years after her election by more than 60 percent of the vote, the memory of Governor Grasso's popularity has receded. And while she says publicly that she intends to run for a second term in 1978, party leaders are talking about giving the nomination to someone else. Some observers say she is looking for a job in the Carter Administration, perhaps to avoid finishing out her term.

In a Greek tragedy an innate flaw in the protagomst's personality leads inexorably to his downfall. In Mrs. Grasso's case the problem appears increasingly to be not some flaw in her personality, but rather the absence of the late John M. Bailey's personality. Mr. Bailey, who was a political kingmaker in Washington and Hartford for more than 20 years as state and national Democratic Party chairman, had managed Mas. Grasso's career, forged her political alliances, and directed the political acrobatics that politicians need to stay in favor and cut of trouble. He died in early 1975, soon after Mrs. Grasso took office.

One Disaster to Another

In his absence Mrs. Grasso has ricocheted from one political disaster to another, turning friends into enemies and minor problems into fiascos; The performance has splintered the Democratic Party and soured much of the electorate, but so far has not interfered with the functioning of the state government, which in Connecticut is not allowed to do very much anyway.

Mrs. Grasso's problems began less than two months after her inauguration. The outgoing governor, Thomas J. Meskill, a Republican, had promissa to leave her a small budget surplus, the result of four years of autority programs that had earned him the nickname "Tough Tommy

Mrs. Grasso, however, saw in those hudget figures not a surplus but a deficit estimated as high as \$80 million, and she cut the budget, taking aim first at the state's 40,000 public employees, who had not had a raise for years under Mr. Meskill and had voted for Mrs. Grasso with visions of Democratic sugar plums in their minds. She called for a wage freeze.

But the General Assembly, an overwhelmingly Democratic body elected on Mrs. Grasso's coattails by the same union votes, refused to go along, giving Mrs. Grasso her first major political defeat.

A few days later, however, and after what several participants called extensive arm-twisting, Mrs. Grasso forced the legislators to reconsider and vote for the pay freeze in an embarrassing public reversal.

That was less than six months after her inauguration, and Mrs. Grasso had already (1) alienated a major bloc of supporters; (2) suffered a major legislative defeat, and (3) alienated her party's legislators by her strong-arm tactics and by humiliating them publicly.

The pay freeze was not enough to resolve the deficit she envisioned, however, and Mrs. Grasso called the legislators into special session in December, 1975, threatening to lay off 500 workers if her program was not nacted. She wanted a \$40 million veterans fund transferred t Connecticut's general coffers to case the state's cash flow problems and wanted the work week lengthened for state employees from 35 hours to 40 without extra pay. The General Assembly refused, and Mrs. Grasso laid off the 500 workers, just before Christmas. She thus: (1) further alienated the unions; (2) additionally alienated the veterans; (3) further alienated the legislators and (4) suffered another

When the General Assembly reconvened last February, Mrs. Grasso presented them with the same demands, which were refused again, as was almost all of Mrs. Grasso's legislative program that session. The estimate of an \$80 million budget deficit, meanwhile, began to shrink as tax revenues exceeded Mrs. Grasso's early projections and by July the state was found to have a

Subplots Didn't Help, Either

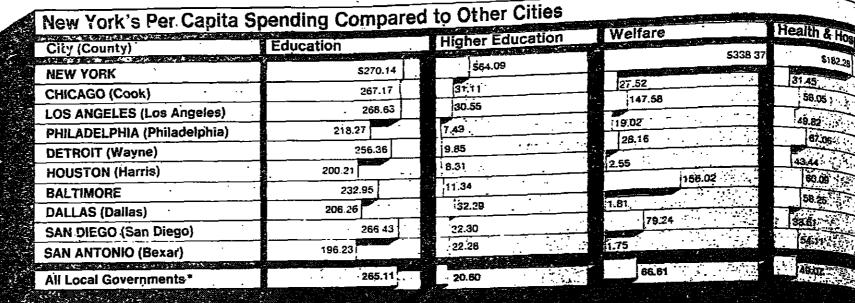
Interwoven with this main theme of hudget problems were several other subplots equally damaging to her political career. In October, 1975, Mrs. Grasso announced that someone "in a high political office" was suspected of taking a \$250,000 bribe to facilitate the State Gaming Commission's approval of a jai alai fronton in Bridgeport. Mrs. Grasso played "I know who it is but I won't tell you" for a week and then, when the name of John M. Bailey came out, burst into tears. The resulting scandal, which never did put the blame on anyone or establish whether a \$250,000 bribe had been paid, left her besmirched by association. After that she attempted to abolish the gaming commission as "too political" but was rebuffed by the General Assembly in another major defeat.

Simultaneously, there was the involvement of Herman Wolf, an old friend of Mrs. Grasso, in a plan to sell the state a 253-acre park on Lake Candlewood for \$6.6 million. The plan fell through after charges that the figure was based on a fraudulently inflated appraisal of the land's

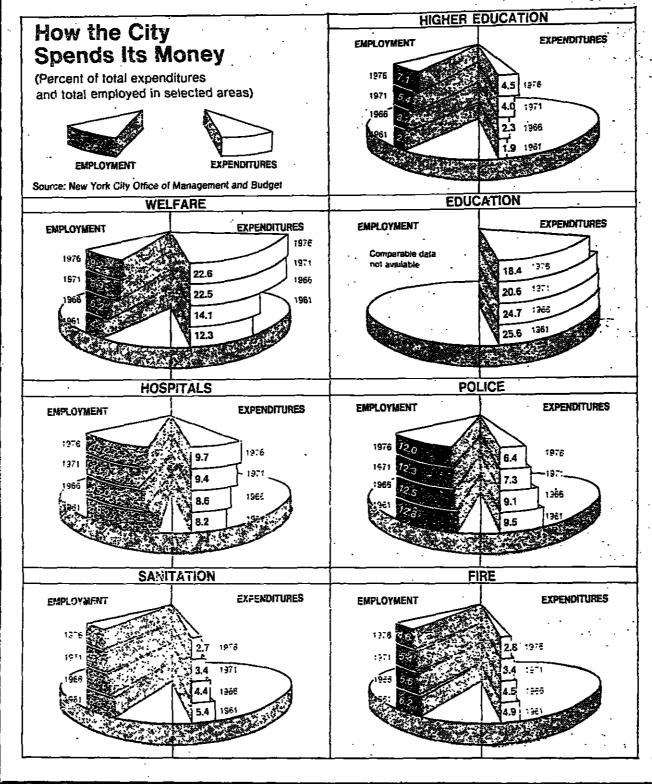
value. No wrongdoing, however, was found.

Coinciding with these developments was the beginning of the Presidential race in Connecticut, and a primary that saw many of Mrs. Grasso's former supporters backing Mr. Carter while party liberals backed Senator Morris Udall. Mrs. Grasso stood almost alone in her support of Senator Henry Jackson. Mr. Carter won the primary. Senator Jackson received only a handful of votes.

By the Democratic National Convention in July, Mrs. Grasso had decided to join the Carter force by naming one of their members, Peter G. Kelley, as party chairman, sacrificing her own appointee, William O'Neill. The Connecticut delegation spent most of the convention



*For all local governments in 74 major standard metropolitan statistical areas.



How the City Managed to Spend It All

A report issued last week by a special mayoral sion provides illuminating data on how New York fiscal priorities have shifted over the last 15 ha what those shifts have meant in terms of delivery of to the city's residents. The report also supports the sion, though not explicitly, that the heavy burden programs is in part responsible for the city's fistal The charts on this page have been extracted from the

The chart above compares the city's per capital tures in four areas with those areas in ten other equivalent city/county governments, and with the per capita expenditure of all local government areas. Three of these functions are considered -not all city governments provide them-and areas, the city's per person expenditures rank a or second in the nation, and, in most cases, far spent by other local governments. In the me service area measured-primary and secondary to New York ranks fifth in the country, which no despite significant expenditures in areas other on little on, and despite its recent fiscal problems & still spends nearly as much as any other city to

The second group of charts illustrates changes is city has allocated its manpower and money res the last 15 years. While the proportion of expends number of people employed in essential sevins fire, sanitation, education—has declined, the proper other services has risen rapidly, especially for set city's combined welfare and hospital expenditur larger than those for the four essential services." total expenditures increased sharply over this pe while the amount of money spent for essential now four times as great as that in 1961, the ame on welfare, hospitals, and higher education is times as great.

This shift in emphasis from essential services programs can be explained in two ways. The demography of the city-simply expressed by the more poor people-has created a greater deman programs in the last 15 years. And the fact that Federal government contributes matching funds of these programs has also provided an incentiproliferation. But, despite the apparent shift is por city's per capita spending on essential services is when compared with that of most other cities

Somehow It Escaped New York's Financial Woes

Port Activity Is One Bright S

By MICHAEL STERNE

Despite the decisive talt of the nation's population and manufacturing toward the South and the West, and the no-growth economics of the Northeast, the Port of New York remains the main conduit of America's foreign trade and one of the few healthy parts of the metropolitan area's

The amount of general cargo flowing through the port hit 16,735,000 long tons in 1974, the highest level since World War IL The year before was almost as good: 16.-231.000 long tons. Last year, with recession making a big dent in international trade, there was a falloff to 14.090,000 tons, but there has been a rebound, with a recovery of 5.4 percent in the first half of 1976.

By another measure, the amount of containerized cargo passing through New York, the port looks even healthier. Containers are the main way goods in foreign commerce are moved by sea, and New York had more than a thard of the nation's container movements in 1974, the most recent year tabulated by the Department of Commerce. The total was 583,000 containers, up 10 percent over 1973.

Nevertheless, the outlook is not all rosy. New York City has had to scrap plans for further pier development because of its inability to borrow for capital projects. It now is negotiating with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which can raise capital, in the hope that the agency will take over the projects and complete them. In addition, technological advance in the form of the

container revolution of the 1960's has produced changes. General cargo handling has moved within the port from Hoboken and Manhattan, which do not have the open spaces needed for container work, to Newark, Elizabeth, Staten Island and Brooklyn. And job opportunities have shrunk. Before containers came into use, the port employed an average of 22,000 dockers a day. Now it employs 7,000 a day. In other industries, the costs of such change are borne

by the workers. On the waterfroot, however, because of the presence of a strong union, the International Long-shoremen's Association, the shippers are bearing it. Eleven thousand men receive pensions of \$6,000 a year and 5,500 others get full wages of \$16,640 a year even though they do not work. The costs of these benefits and other benefits is an assessment of \$6.85 a ten on cargoes handled here, more than in any other port. This is sending some business to other ports. Of the 170 American and foreign shipping lines that use

New York Port, only 12 have investments in terminals here and ar interest in maximizing their use The others, because of New York's generally higher costs, try to pick up and discharge cargoes in other ports. One result is that while New York still handles by far

the most tonnage of any port in the count the foreign trade has dropped significants of World War II, 40 per cent of the name foreign commerce went through New York about 11 percent. Should this cause worry?

Yes, because New York's continuing hald share depends on the frequency of sadings, of destinations and the specialized services But as competing ports grow, they are aik! sailings and more services, thus cutting No vantages.

The answer is also no, however, because other ports is not so much an indication of it with New York as a natural result of the efopment of the rest of the country. Unless cial reasons to push cargoes another way the nearest port, and the ports of the south are closer to the prowing population and particular and particular

Centers of the country.

The key economic fact is this by agree ship operators, the cost of moving goods lantic is the same for a shipper whether is Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore Roads. What does vary is the cost of s between the coastal ports and the intent container to Peoria, for example, costs \$61 through New York than if it goes through cause Baltimore is closer to Peoria

It is a sign of the continuing attraction Port and its ability to overcome geographic that only slightly more than half the car comes from New York, New Jersey and or rest comes from even such distant said

California, which have excellent ports of the Nevertheless, the port has problems Strengthening rail service is a major ne region. The failure of the Northeast's six! it with only one carrier, Comed, and many

New York's Lisa law, designed to per cooperate in the Arab boycott against is a ing business to other ports; although how pute. Moves to get the Federal Govern lation, equalizing anti-boycott regulations are being prepared.

And the Port Authority is pursual tional campaign in this country and shoot business here.

Such campaigns are useful, but not decision was proress also are promoting themselves. York Port healthy is what was has be vigorous regional economy.

Michael Sterne is a New York Ru in the economy of the New York



squabbling about the appointment, Mr. O'Neill refused to

resign and Mrs. Grasso by then had so many enemies she

was unable to replace him when the state Democratic

Convention was held. At that point she had (1) suffered another defeat; (2) alienated even more Democrats; (3)

alienated her own party chairman, who sat out the cam-

paign, and (4) left the party facing the election in bitter

After the convention Mrs. Grasso attempted to campaign for Mr. Carter in Connecticut, but found union hecklers

at any sizable gathering. As a result, most of her cam-

paigning was conducted outside the state. But when Mr.

Carter visited the Electric Boat submarine shipyards in

Groton, she was unable to stay away and was booed by

Democratic Congressional candidates and did not cam-

paign for Gloria Schaffer, an old friend who is the state's

Secretary of State and was waging an unsuccessful fight

for a United States Senate scat against Lowell P. Weicker

Mrs. Grasso's political future, however grim it may look

now, is subject to change. The economy is improving, the

battle scars of 1975 are fading, and Mrs. Grasso did end

Michael Knight is a Connecticut-based reporter for The

up in the Carter camp, even if he did lose the state.

Mrs. Grasso did not campaign actively for the state's

disarray and leaderless.

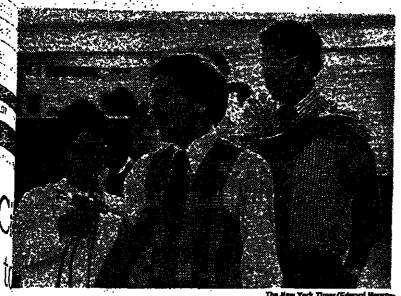
many of the 11,000 unionists.

Jr., the Republican incumbent.

Ella T. Grasso

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Swine fly shots are administered to Connecticut residents.

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ost eight months after President and Congress decided there be swine-flu immunization for nericans, the program is so far I schedule that the goal will in elihood prove impossible to meet. are two principal reasons: The the was late in being delivered to - health facilities, and public reto the vaccinations has been han enthusiastic, probably beof the deaths of a number of y persons after they received:

agreement between Congress and our major companies that manuare flu vaccine created most of delay. The companies said they e unwilling to face the possible sequences of liability suits from iniduals claiming to have been injured the vaccine.

he Administration therefore asked gress for legislation to indemnify companies against such claims. form such legislation should take debated in Congressional committhroughout the summer; many essmen were unwilling to transbility from private, profit-makompanies to the Government. 7 Congress passed a law making wernment the original defendant suits arising from flu vaccina-

Mag. 10, approximately 120 mil-uses of vaccine had been prein bulk form. But because the tion did not take effect until Sept. 30, the distribution of e was delayed until that date. irst inoculations took place in apolis and Waltham, Mass., on -more than two months after officials had hoped to see

lly begun, the program ran into or problem almost immediately ly October, when the highly zed deaths of the elderly oc-A number of state programs even briefly suspended until sts had determined that the were coincidental and the vac-

Meanwhile, the program had also lost impetus because of statements by health professionals and others that perhaps the swine flu was not so virulent as had first been feared and because no further cases had been observed since the original breakout at Fort Dix, N.J.

As things now stand, the Federal Government estimates that somewhat more than 20 million adult Americans have been immunized, leaving around 120 million yet to be reached.

Photography Of the Heart

Scientists at the National Institutes of Health have developed a computerassisted method of making motion pictures of the heart in action that offers several advantages over traditional ways of making internal heart pictures.

The new method, call radionuclide cineangiography, takes only half an bour, as against at least two days of hospitalization for contrast angiography, the traditional method. Therefore it can be used for outpatients, permits screenings of larger populations, and is less expensive, dangerous and painful than ordinary angiography. The radiation dose is also much Moreover, in contrast angiography

the patient must remain at rest, while in the new method pictures can be taken during exercise. Thus early signs of coronary heart disease that cannot be detected in a resting heart may be discovered in the exercising heart. In addition, the functional importance of a heart lesion may be studied during exercise, when it can be different from the conditions that obtain in the heart at rest.

In contrast angiography, a material opaque to X-rays is passed through en artery into the chambers of the heart by means of a plastic tube. But the new method requires only an injection of radioactive material into any vein. An instrument that registers radioactivity is applied to the patient's chest, and a computer scans each point of radioactivity every onehundredth of a second, constructing a moving picture that can be viewed on

a television screen,

In a talk before the American Heart Association in Miami Dr. Jeffrey S. Borer of the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute in Bethesda, Md., suggested that, because people can now be repeatedly screened for early signs of coronary heart disease, researchers could hope to select a test population for long-term observation. Such observation could determine whether early signs of asymptomatic heart disease become more acute with time, and could permit the study of the effects of various therapies over long periods.

Another **Teacher Union?**

The National Education Association, a teacher's organization with 1.8 million members, has said that it will begin a membership drive among New York City schoolteachers to form a union against the 65,000-member United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker.

John Ryor, president of the N.E.A., said New York's teachers had indicated they wanted a change. He criticized a proposal by Mr. Shanker to suspend collective bargaining for the duration of the city's fiscal crisis. He also said the N.E.A. was prepared to pursue better working conditions, better grievance procedures, and better protection of the rights of

At U.F.T. headquarters, Mr. Shanker said, "When this battle is over, the teachers of New York City will stay with our union."

Minority Enrollments

Minority enrollment has dropped in medical schools and leveled off in law schools in a trend widely ascribed to a change in the nation's mood. Some civil rights advocates fear educators are not so committed to minority recruitment programs as they once were.

In 1970, 2.8 percent of first-year medical students were minority-group members: blacks, Mexican-Americans, mainland Puerto Ricans or American Indians. By 1974-75, the proportion had risen to 10 percent, but it is down now to 9 percent.

Minority enrollment in law schools rose from about 4 percent in 1970 to 7.5 percent in 1974 and stood at 7.4 percent in 1975. Current figures have not been compiled.

To reach "affirmative action" goals, admissions officers often give special consideration to minorities. At least one lower court has found this practice unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court has made it clear that it is willing to rule on the issue. Meanwhile, educators say, uncertainty may be making colleges wary of anything that looks like "reverse discrimination."

Educators willing to speculate on the leveling off of enrollment in law schools proposed that minority members may not be so eager to become lawyers as in the past, partly because other fields have opened up to them. It is also suggested that the sluggish economy has a different psychological impact on the races. Some blacks may avoid law school because they anticipate dim job prospects, while whites may assume they will get jobs what-

ever the state of the economy. The stressful nature of medical education for members of all ethnic groups was underlined last week by Dr. Gordon H. Deckert, chairman of the department of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Oklahoma Uni-

Dr. Deckert told the annual meeting

of the Association of American Medical Colleges that from 65 to 85 percent of medical students seek some form of psychological counseling during their four years of study. This compares with estimates of 50 to 60 per-

Medical students feel they are confronted with a body of knowledge so vast as to defy mastery, yet they also worry that failure to learn may result in a patient's death.

percent at the undergraduate level.

cent in nursing school, 30 to 40 per-

cent in dental school and 15 to 20

Most, used to being near the top of their undergraduate classes, face unaccustomed and anxiety-producing competition for grades in medical school. They have money troubles. They feel that faculty members press them too hard at a time in their lives when they need emotional support. And they are stung by hostility from patients who resent the fact that some doctors earn high incomes.

Students Study Government

Over the last two years, schools that prepare students for government careers have experienced a 67 percent enrollment increase that educators attribute to a combination of student idealism and self-interest. A record 22,000 men and women are now enrolled in such "public-policy" schools.

Alan K. Campbell, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, says that despite widespread disenchantment with government, large numbers of students still consider public employment the best way to improve American society.

Like many of his colleagues, Dean Campbell finds that students are also driven by a practical motive. They know that graduates of public-policy schools rarely lack for jobs. State and local governments are becoming increasingly interested in hiring them for such positions as policy analyst or tinance director.

So far, the Federal Government has shown less interest. That may change when Jimmy Carter takes office. The President-elect has promised to create 250 internships for public-policy graduates, who will be given two-year assignments with both political and career executives, .

N.J. Court Rules For Abortion

Yet another in a series of recent Federal and state court decisions reaffirming the right to abortion has been handed down in New Jersey. The State Supreme Court ruled last week that nonprofit, nonsectarian hospitals cannot refuse to provide abortion services.

Three hospitals had declined to permit elective abortions on the ground that community conscience opposed them. A lower court upheld the hospitals' prohibition. The State Supreme Court, however, found in its 6-to-1 opinion that "Moral concepts be the basis of a nonsectarian, nonprofit eleemosynary hospital's regulations where that hospital is holding out the use of its facilities to the general public."

The ruling could affect about 80 New Jersey hospitals and is likely to make hospitals in other states feel they are now more open to litigation. However, it is rare for hospitals in some states, among them Connecticut and New York, to ban abortion outright, although they may discourage the procedure in such indirect ways as charging high fees.

> Tom Ferrell and Virginia Adams

Headliners



Mr. Murdock's Entrance

The New York Post, the city's only afternoon daily, is going to be sold to Rupert Murdoch, who owns newspapers in Australia, the United States and England. Mr. Murdoch has a reputation for revitalizing failing publications by featuring scandal sex and crime. He runs an empire that includes 83 newspapers and 11 magazines, among them Britain's largest circulation newspaper, News of the World. and in this country, The San Antonio (Tex.) Express and Evening News, Mr. Murdoch quickly raised circulation-and local anger-with his sensationalist approach in San Antonio. The Australian publisher said The New York Post "will maintain its present policies and traditions." Dorothy Schiff, present publisher, said she was confident that Mr. Murdoch "will carry on vigorously in the tradition I value so deeply." Mrs. Schiff has followed a generally liberal policy since she bought the paper in 1939.

Deportation Order

Phillip Agee, the former Central Intelligence Agency employee who wrote a book detailing some of the agency's stratagems, and disclosed the names and location of some of its operatives, has been ordered to leave Britain. The deportation order accused Mr. Agee of threatening British security and of maintaining contacts with unidentified foreign agents. Mr. Agee speculated that pressure by the C.I.A., angered by his book and by articles published in a magazine he works for called Counter-Spy, was responsible for the deportation order. Earlier last week, Mark Hosenball, another American reporter, was ordered to leave for being a security risk, Mr. Hosenball works for a British paper, but he has written articles on intelligence activities for the magazine, Time Out. Gary Hoenig



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■ The U.N. Security Council, under petrodollar influence, protested measures taken by Israel in occupied lands—warning against any "profanation of the holy places"—knowing full well that Israel zealously guards religious freedom for all.

■ The rationale for the universal gang-up on Israel is the piously-proclaimed "inadmissibility of retention of territories seized by force." What hypocrisy! Did any of the major powers surrender all seized territories—even when the lands were so far removed as to be no threat to security? What about the U.S. and Japanese islands? Did Russia relinquish huge areas grabbed from Germany, Poland, Baltic States, Finland, China, Rumania? Did not Jordan reject the U.N.'s assignment in 1948 of much of present Israel-and instead chose war? Should aggressors institute war, lose it, and then receive the rewards of a victor? Should E. Jerusalem (where now democratic privileges are universal) be returned to Jordan who for 19 years barred even Israeli Arabs and destroyed everything

 Israel is justified, historically and morally, in retaining present borders: first, because the Arabs (even the so-called "moderates") aim to destroy Israel and refuse to negotiate peace; secondly, the 1967 borders gave Arabs' missiles dangerously close positions; thirdly, under Israeli Arabs enjoy a standard of living and democracy unknown in neighboring Arab countries.

Messrs. Ford, Kissinger, and Scranton should heed Sen. Eagleton's warning: "The moment we sell out a small courageous democracy in the name of profit . . . or oil, we contradict our own nation's reason for being." Pray that Pres. Carter will heed it!

> Public presentation by S. Norman Gourse 515 E. 14th St., N.Y.C.

Demography

The Growth of Population Is Slowing Down

By LESTER R. BROWN

Sometime near the beginning of this decade, the rate of growth of world population peaked and began to slow. The primary reason for the reversal of a long-standing trend is that birth rates are falling impressively in nations with 40 percent of the world's population. A secondary, and more sobering reason, is a shortage of food that has led to rising death rates in the more densely populated, poorer countries. The consequence of these trends, at once encouraging and ominous, is that the long-expected doubling over the next generation of the world's current population of four billion is not likely to materialize.

How rapidly a nation's population grows, leaving aside migration, is determined by the number of births per thousand (the birth rate) and the number of deaths per thousand (the death rate). The difference between the birth rate and the death rate, converted to a percentage, yields the population growth rate for a country or a region. As an example, the birth rate for the United States was 14.8 per thousand in 1975. The death rate was 9.0 per thousand. The difference of 5.8 per thousand, or a little more than one-half of one percent, was this country's population growth rate.

Slowing population growth has been concentrated in three geographic regions-Western Europe, North America, and East Asia. The growth rate fell by almost one-half in Western Europe, and by a third in both North America and East Asia. Western Europe, with 343 million people, cut its annual population growth from 0.56 percent in 1970 to 0.32 in 1975—a remarkable reduction for a large area. North America and East Asia had populations of 236 million and 1,005 million, respectively, in 1975. The one-third decrease in North America's growth rate (excluding immigration) from 0.90 percent to 0.60 percent during the five-year span is continuing in 1976.

Within Western Europe, population growth has come to a halt in four countries—East Germany, West Germany, Lux-

embourg and Austria. Each now has a stable or declining population. East Germany brought its births and deaths in line in 1969. In West Germany, births and deaths came into balance in 1972. The national birth rate of just under 10 per thousand in 1975 may be the lowest on record. The populations of two smaller countries, Austria and Luxembourg, also ceased growing during the seventies.

If recent trends continue, the United Kingdom and Belgium will also achieve population equilibrium sometime in 1976, bringing the total of such countries to six. Several other European countries have birth rates below 15 and failing, approaching a balance with death rates: France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The United States, one of the world's four most populous countries, has also pulled its birth rate down below 15. Virtually all of the remaining industrial nations, all the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, have birth rates between

These falling birth rates reflect both a desire for smaller families and the widening availability of family planning services, including both contraception and abortion. Although all of the heavily used contraceptives, including the pill, intrauterine device, and condom, had existed before 1970, significant shifts in their relative importance have occurred. Use of the pill, spurred both by publicly supported clinics and commercial distributors, has increased on every

While contraceptive use patterns changed, abortion laws were liberalized. At the beginning of 1971, 38 percent of the world's people lived in countries where legal abortions were easy to obtain. By early 1976, this figure stood at 64 percent, nearly two-thirds of the world.

The decline by one-third in the United States population growth rate (excluding migration) between 1970 and 1975 was not widely anticipated and challenges accepted demographic notions. The expected upturn in birth rates during the 1970's, when the children of the postwar baby boom en-

tered their prime reproductive years, has not materialized. The most impressive decline in birth rates over the last four years has come in China. The Chinese birth rate fell from an estimated 32 to 19, or 2.6 points per year, probably

Based on projected annual growth rate of

1.9% in 1970, 1.64% in 1975

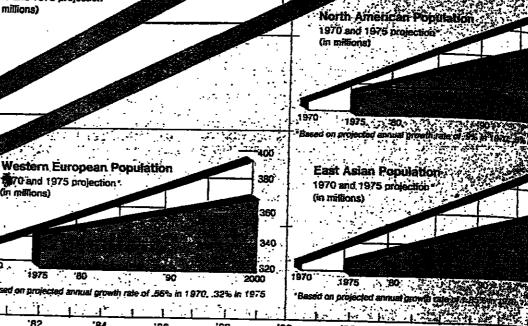
the most rapid national decline ever recorded. This pronounced fall-off should come as no surprise: the comprehensive Chinese effort focuses not only upon providing family planning services, including abortion, but also upon reshaping economic and social policies to encourage small families and upon an intensive public education campaign extolling the benefits of smaller families. The achievement is all the more noteworthy given China's relatively low average income per person. Apparently, meeting basic social and family planning needs can drive down the birth rate even where income levels are not high,

The importance of bringing down birth rates rapidly is gaining widespread attention elsewhere. In India economic planners have impressed on the political leadership the virtual impossibility of raising living levels if population growth continues unabated. India was one of the first countries to recognize the population problem officially, but its success in implementing effective family planning programs has been limited. As a result the Government finds itself sanctioning, as a last resort, the use of compulsory sterilization. In Mexico, plagued by unemployment, the Government has abandoned its traditional pro-natalist stance and thrown itself into a massive national family planning effort. In Indonesia, Colombia, and Thailand birth rates have begun to decline as new, effective family planning programs take

The decline in birth rates in the industrialized world and



1970 and 1975 projection



in China is a hopeful sign. It shows that the

ning, improving social conditions, and enan

women in society can significantly slow th

growth. Unfortunately, far too many com

drop because birth rates fall or because

Lester R. Brown is president of Worldw

Population Trends: Signs of Hope, Signs of Sp

Washington, and author of Worldwatch

sporadic rises in death rates?

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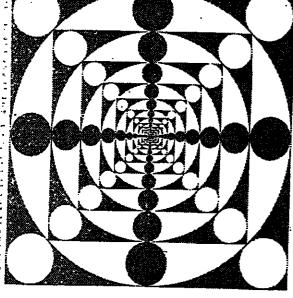
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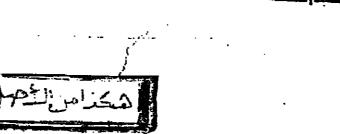


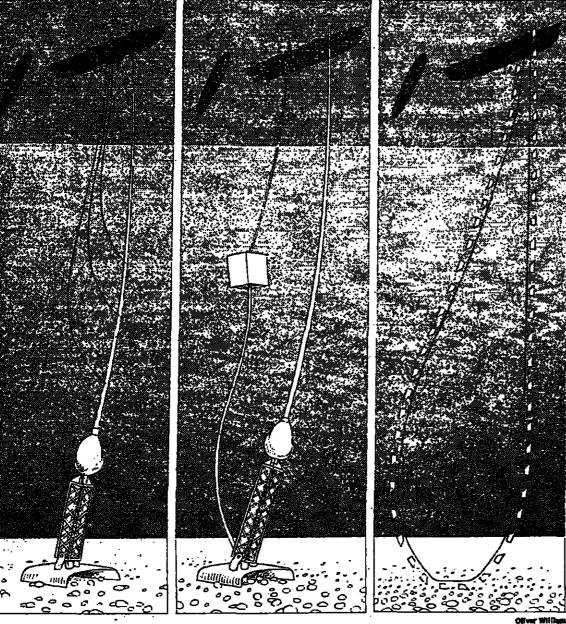
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ea Mining: Difficult, but Not Impossible

By WALTER SULLIVAN

the floor of the Pacific Ocean where are believed to be at least lion tons of metallic nodules, when the deeper regions with what ike misshapen black potatoes. the manner of their formation proversial, there is no doubt Heir composition. They are rich Ecritical metals as cobalt, copinganese and nickel, offering to भे-hungry world a vast reserve

like the proverbial apple of conent, they continue to lie just bereach. The reasons are chiefly all although bringing the nodthe surface and extracting their will be a major technological

eptember the Law of the Sea ence at the United Nations adi until next May with no agreen sight as to who will control -:p sea floor and the exploitation resources. Until this is resolved intil the United States Govern-

ment, insures the exploiters against loss from adverse provisions of a future treaty—corporations are unlikely to invest the hundreds of millions of collars required for such an enterprise.

While rodules have been found on the floor of Lake Michigan, they occur primarily in salt water at ocean depths of two and three miles. The riches: known deposits lie in a narrow zone extending from the central Pacific, south of Hawaii. eastward Mexico. It lies just north of the equatorial zone of intense biological activity -and hence of rapid sediment deposi-

Such deposition would tend to bury nodules before they could be mined. Some scientists believe they are formed by bacteria that extract and deposit the metals dissolved in seawater. It has been estimated that ten million tons of nodules are produced annually, providing a renewable re-

Manganese is the primary constituent of the nodules but the metal of chief economic interest is nickel, of

FINE & APPLIED ARTS

which the United States currently imports more than 90 percent of its recuirements. Furthermore, almost 20 percent of the country's copper comes

Three primary approaches are being pursued to meet the challenge of raising the nodules from the depths at which they lie. They are: air-lift pumping, hydrolift and the continuous line bucket system.

In air-lift pumping a suction device linked by pipeline to the mining ship is dragged along the bottom. Compressed air injected into the pipe at various levels creates an upward flow that "vacuums" the nodules off the bottom. A rake or screen prevents nodules large enough to clog the pipe from

In a recently published analysis by the Congressional Research Service for the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs this method is evaluated as the most complex.

It is said to be less adaptable than other systems since the locations of air injection and other features must be adjusted for varying ocean depths. An advantage is the lack of any need for operating pumps deep under water.

The hydrolift method, the second under consideration, pumps water to create an upward flow through the pipe. The pumps can either be on the bottom or at intermediate depth. The congressional study notes that the technology for this system is well established having long been used in the coal industry and in pumping the "mud" used in oil drilling.

The continuous line bucket method uses a braided rope to which dredging buckets are attached at intervals of about 100 feet. As the ship moves slowly over the deposit the line of buckets sinks until it reaches the bottom, then is dragged along the bottom and hoisted up again. Because of the ship's forward motion the descending line of buckets loops far out astern. On the other hand, the line of rising buckets en route to the surface would hang straight down, well clear of the descending buckets.

The relative effectiveness of these systems is not public knowledge. Among the determining criteria will be production rate, the extent to which unwanted sediment is brought up, and efficiency in sweeping closely spaced tracks without overlap. The bucket system must avoid snagging on bottom features. Suction systems must be dragged along the bottom in such a manner that, when the sea floor suddenly descends to greater depth, they do not lift off the bottom.

Research has been under way in various laboratories on ways to extract the valuable metals from the nodules. Methods used in refining ores from mines on land are inapplicable. Research has also been under way by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration on the environmental

effects of deep sea mining.
Fears have been expressed that waste material, including bottom sediment, dumped from the ship or from buckets on route to the surface would blanket bottom life. However, the deep sea floor is only thinly inhabited and it has been tentatively concluded that the environmental effect would be

For more than a decade a number of large industrial enterprises have been working on the technology needed to retrieve the nodules and extract their metals. A number of American companies, including Atlantic-Richfield, Kennecott Copper, Lockheed, Phelps-Dodge, Tanneco and United States Steel are involved.

In virtually all cases they are participating in international consortiums whose goal is to perfect the methods. In some cases, once large-scale mining begins individual companies, or new consortiums, will probably do the

The testing of small-scale systems is believed largely complete, but the investment needed to inaugurate fullscale mining will probably not be made until the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea determines the ground rules for such efforts. The cost of a full system, with ships, mining equipment and metal extraction facilities, has been estimated at from \$300 to \$600 million.

One consortium has laid claim to a rich nodule deposit on the Pacific floor southeast of Hawaii, but the claim is not recognized by the Department of State. It was made in 1974 by Deep Sea Ventures, a consortium in which Tenneco was the chief stockholder.

An effort has been made in Congress to provide at least a partial federal guarantee of the large investments necessary but this has been opposed on the ground that such a burden on the taxpayer for corporate profit was unwarranted.

Walter Sullivan writes about science for The New York Times.

Where We Stand by Albert Shanker President. United Federation of Teachers

New York Negotiations in 'Wartime'

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Unless City Survives Bargaining Won't

ast week newspapers across the country printed stories on a statement which L I made dealing with contract negotiations in New York City under the present emergency. The best of these reports were accurate as far as they went, but they gave little detail. The overwhelming majority of the accounts printed outside of New York City itself were completely erroneous. They reported my saying-at a seminar in the city-that public employee collective bargaining should end because government agencies everywhere are having financial problems. Now, anyone who can believe I would say that can believe just about

Like many other union leaders, I have devoted my life to advancing the cause of collective bargaining. Unlike other workers, teachers did not accept the idea of collective bargaining until very recently, and some do not accept it yet. For years I went from school to school in New York City, and to hundreds of districts all across the United States, to convince teachers that they, too, deserve and should demand the right to bargain collectively. More often than not, over these years, the strongest opposition I faced was not from school boards or administrators, but from the National Education Association and its affiliates, which came to recognize the merits of bargaining only much later.

Timing of New Contract Talks at Issue

Of course, my remarks last week did not advocate an end to collective bargaining. But I did call for a significant change in the timing of negotiations in New York City.

First: I was talking about New York City and only New York City. Many government agencies throughout the country still have relatively easy access to more money if they want it. Others have financial squeezes and difficulties but there is still some room. No other city or school district faces New York City's problems. That is the reason our crisis has been front page headlines all over the world for more than a year.

Second: Public employee negotiating, as we have known it in New York City and as it is practiced elsewhere, is currently in shambles in New York because it is restricted and modified by state law, applying only to our city, which freezes certain benefits, forces drastic annual budget cutbacks and establishes a Control Board that exercises vast powers. In addition, because of the federal loans required to avert default by New York, the city, in effect, has federal

Third: The limited public employee contract talks that have taken place have been painful. They have been time-consuming, frequently bitter, Salary adjustments have been small and always accompanied by cutbacks in working

I suggested some changes.

Tripartite Board Could Rule on Inequities

I don't like "boards" after the experience with the Nixon Wage-Price Board talthough the experience with the War Labor Board seems to have been quite different). But the fact is that we already have a board-the Emergency Financial Control Board. If we are to live with a board, it should be one which specializes in labor concerns. It should not be representative exclusively of management, government and business, as is the EFCB. It should be tripartite, with representatives of labor and government and "neutrals" acceptable to both.

Such a board could help to maintain fair treatment for each group of employees and deal with any inequities.

Existing contracts would be continued and extended in this extraordinary period. Since the current "emergency" provisions last only until 1978, that would be the outside limit on the new procedure.

The greatest benefit to everyone is that this temporary postponement of new negotiations would leave unions, the city, the agencies free to devote all of their time and energies to the one thing that matters most: getting help to save New York City, a city under siege, a city engaged in a war for survival.

We Must Restore Self-Government to City

Perhaps the "war" analogy is a bit strong, but it is not far off. In time of war, everything becomes secondary to winning the war. Because if the war is lost, all citizens may lose needed services, businessmen may lose property and wealth, labor may lose contract rights and the very ability to bargain. New York -City employees have already lost many of their bargaining rights because the city-their employer-has lost much of its self-governance. The way to restore collective bargaining is to restore self-government. We must bring about the conditions which will end the need for a "control" board.

In war we deal with matters of life and death. If the terms "life" and "death" are too strong to use in the current situation, we can all agree that continued suffering and enormous hardship lie ahead unless the city gets help.

It is because I want to restore public employee collective bargaining that I believe it is wiser that we stop haggling over new and very meager benefits now, that we continue working under our contracts, that we devote all our efforts to saving our city. Unless the city is saved, collective bargaining has no future here.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at UFT. This column is sponsored as paid advertising by the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-C10, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, M.Y. 10010. © 1976 by Athert Shanker

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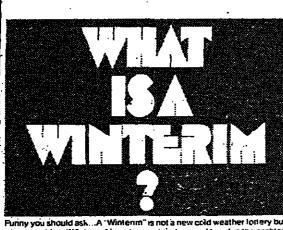
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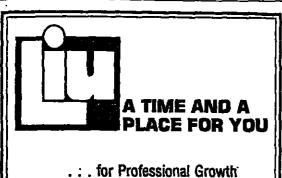
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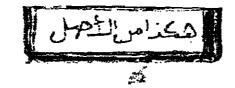
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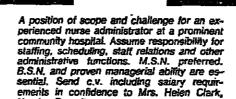
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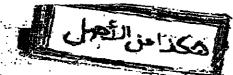
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RESEARCH SCIENTIST, I—

Requirements: Doctorate level with knowledge and exenence in data processing and epidemiology, preferably cancer epidemiology.

Duties: Provide day-to-day management of Cancer Registry Project. Provide leadership in development of registry and maintain its functioning after development.

Once registry is functioning, become involved in epidemiologic studies of cancer.

RESEARCH SCIENTIST, III---

Requirements: Master level with knowledge and experience in data processing, including sufficient knowledge of computer programming to work effectively with programmers. Some knowledge and experience in epidemiology, preferable cancer epidemiology, is essential.

Duties: Under the direction of a Research Scientist, I, provide technical competence necessary to develop and maintain a cancer registry.

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'Faith and Credit'

The unexpected decision of New York State's highest court invalidating the moratorium on \$1 billion or more of this city's short-term notes dramatically underlinesand in a startling way-what has been apparent all

Despite the enormous progress New York has made during the past year or more in working its way out of its financial difficulties, the crisis is a continuing one, has by no means been finally solved, and will require still greater efforts on the part of the city and greater help from the Federal Government for its solution.

Yet there is every reason to believe that the situation -so far from being hopeless-is entirely solvable without recourse to bankruptcy, but with the application of additional doses of patience, ingenuity and cooperation at all levels of government and within the private sector as well.

The five-to-one decision of the Court of Appeals, written in sharp and sometimes caustic language by the highly respected Chief Judge Charles D. Breitel, requires the city to honor its obligation to to its short-term note holders whose payments had been suspended by the moratorium. But at the same time, as the court wisely

"It would serve neither plaintiff nor the people of the City of New York to precipitately evoke instant judicial remedies which might give the city no choice except to proceed into bankruptcy. The strenuous and valiant efforts by the city and state administrations with the aid of the national Government should be given as much leeway as constitutional decency permits."

In other words, there is time-just how much is uncertain, but certainly enough—to work out a means of meeting the obligations to its note holders that the court has sternly thrust back on the shoulders of the city. The reaffirmation that the pledge of "faith and credit" is constitutionally protected even under conditions of extreme adversity is a healthy if tough lesson in public morality; but it is no cause for panic. It may in fact serve the very practical purpose of forcing all of us who are concerned with the survival of New Yorkand, by extension, of all other major cities in this country-to come to grips once again with the realities of the

urban crisis. And it should surely in the long run strengthen public confidence in the sanctity of contracts entered into by instrumentalities of government.

So far as New York City is concerned, the first and most immediate problem raised by the decision is whether it will affect the continued discretionary loan payments by the Federal Government conditioned on the likelihood of repayment. The next such payment, in the amount of \$200 million, is scheduled for Dec. 3. Another of \$500 million is due later that month. These loans are absolutely essential to meet the city's immediate cash

Given the spirit of cooperation that has been increasingly evinced in Washington and the extraordinary (and successful) efforts of the city itself to pare its own budget, it is most improbable that at this juncture the Treasury would suddenly call off its scheduled assistance program. But the Breitel decision does make it vital that a new plan be worked out within the very near future that will enable this municipality to meet the

The possibilities run all the way from assistance from the Federal Reserve to backing from the Carter Administration and from Congress for Federal guarantees for municipal bonds.

The problem, serious as it is, can be worked in the spirit of one of the principal figures in the past year's negotiations, who commented yesterday: "Everybody seems anxious to hold this thing together. It's like the Battle of Britain-we came through it before and we'll do it again." Only this time, New York is in a different position from a year ago; it has a record of sacrifice and accomplishment that both outgoing and incoming administrations have begun to appreciate and recognize.

And Congress and the country are aware, more acutely than a year ago, that New York's problem is inextricably linked to-if larger than-the problem of virtually every other major municipality in the country.

The urban problem is, essentially, a national problem: and it will require thoughtful, dispassionate Federal help for its solution.

Good Start in Italy

minority government survived the litst crinca test in Parliament for its economic austerity program because the powerful Communist Party abstained instead of voting "no." Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti had nailed down that imperative abstention prior to the formal debate in a three-hour discussion with the Communist leaders and a talk with the Communist head of Italy's largest trade union confederation.

It is far from unprecedented for a Christian Democratic Prime Minister to discuss major moves in advance with the Communists; but the consultation has become more necessary and more extensive since the Communists won 34 percent of the vote in the June election. only four points behind the party that has headed every Italian Government since 1945.

Confronted by 20 percent inflation, a foreign debt of:\$17 billion, soaring imports, a shaky lira and dangerously depleted currency reserves. Mr. Andreotti had no alternative to imposing austerity measures on a country not noted for fiscal or industrial discipline. Without such actions, Italy would have difficulty obtaining even the \$530 million credit it seeks from the International Monetary Fund, let alone the much larger loans it hopes to get from the United States and the European Community to ease the pressure on its balance of

Mr. Andreotti's package includes higher taxes, enforce-

ment of advance tax payments, cuts in public spending substantial rises in electricity charges, telephone tolls and gasoline prices, and a start on modifying inflationary wage boosts. Additional measures will be required by Italy's creditors at some stage; but the Prime Minister has maneuvered with courage and skill to get this first round accepted by Parliament, even if abstainers outnumbered supporters.

No one knows how long Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer can hold his parliamentary ranks in line for abstention and his union followers for wage restraint. Though there have been few defections, the policy has created uneasiness among party workers and was sharply challenged last month by the party's patriarch, Luigi Longo. Mr. Berlinguer often finds it necessary to warn the Government against taking Communist cooperation for granted and he continues to press his proposal for a summit meeting of all parties, except the neo-Fascists, to deal with the economic crisis.

Meanwhile, Mr. Andreotti obviously intends to take maximum advantage of Communist abstentions to make a long-overdue start on economic recovery. He will come to Washington next month to seek help in that effort, probably in a meeting with President-elect Carter as well as President Ford. On his performance thus far, the Prime Minister deserves a sympathetic hearing.

Planes in Beirut

The first civil airliners since last June landed at Beirut iarport this wekend. Both symbolically and practically the landings represented the nearest approach to normal conditions that the tortured city has seen in a long time.

For Lebanon as a whole, the Syrian occupation-now nearly complete-seems to have effectively stopped the civil war, at least for the time being. The Palestinians, the Christians and the other factions among the Lebanese inhabitants still nurture their hatreds and mutual suspicions, but all have surrendered to the corporate decision of the most influential Arab nations—particularly Saudi Arabia—that the fighting must stop and that the Syrians must be trusted as relatively neutral troops who at the least can end the killing.

But each day of comparative quiet in the new Lebanon makes more urgent the larger question of peace and the future in the Middle East. Will the Syrians try to destroy the belt of friendly Christian-dominated territory the Israelis have helped set up in southern Lebanon near their border? Will the Palestinians resume raids against Israel from Lebanon, and if so how will Jerusalem respond? Do the Syrians intend to annex Lebanon or is their occupation just a genuine short-term expedient that Lebanese President Sarkis can end by ordering Syrian troops out of his country when he deems condi-

Merely to ask these questions is to underline how much remains undetermined in Lebanon and in the wider Arab-Israeli confrontation. But at least the restoration of a precarious peace in Lebanon is a reminder that constant killings among different religions and ideologies are not necessarily an inevitable feature of life in the Middle East, that most sensitive area of this planet.

The Wind Tides

Autumn ebbs away into winter, but there is flow rather than ebb in the unseen wind tides that now lap at the hills and send invisible breakers to hiss softly in the upper woodlands. They are the tides that curl about this earth, forever restless and eternally moving, tides that obey some subtler master than the moon.

Night is the time to hear these tides, a night when the stars are dimmed by scud that could easily be the spray of wind waves crowding swiftly one upon the next. You sit beside the open fire and hear the tides sucking at the chimney, hear the swish of their unseen waves breaking against the corner of the house, feel the quiver of panes shaken by the breakers.

You listen and you hear the rise and fall of the wind waves, the rush of one after another in crescendo until the peak has struck its battering blow. Then there is a pause, a gathering of new force, and again that succession of waves building once more to climactic height and falling away into darkness.

Occasionally you can see, or seem to see, the windtides, breaker-white, at dawn and at dusk. They go rippling through a pasture lot and across an open knoll with its tall, golden-ripe grass. They swish through the underbrush at the edge of the woodland with the sibilant sound of cove water being crowded up an inlet. They bow the naked maple tips with the murmuring hiss of moontides on rocky reefs.

Letters to the Editor

Toward a Presidential Amnesty Board

President-elect Carter has promised a blanket pardon to all who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War. I fear that a blanket pardon would not be in the best interests of the nation and may lead to serious consequences for the future. No blanket amnesty or pardon has ever been granted by the United States in the aftermath of any

A far better precedent was the one followed by President Trumen, who appointed an Amnesty Board in 1946 to recommend Presidential clemency for World War II draft evaders and named retired Associate Justice Owen Roberts of the Supreme Court as chairman. Also named were Willis Smith, president of the American Bar Association, and James F. O'Neil, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy during World War IL

Justice Roberts favored blanket amnesty, but after going over a few cases he agreed to review all on an individual basis. When he presented the board's report to President Truman,

Of Oil and Hypocrisy

To the Editor:

The resistance to the anticipated increases for OPEC oil by the West is absurd and hypocritical. And the veiled threats of some kind of retaliation are outrageous.

American private industry has never made any price reductions of the slightest consequence to make Western products more accessible to the average consumer in Africa or Asia, including the oil societies of the Middle East and Venezuela. There is one trivial, ridiculous exception: American textbook publishers reduce prices about 5 percent by way of a longer discount and a reduction in authors' royalties by 50 percent, but the book still costs the equivalent of more than one month's total income in many third-world societies.

And United States distribution of food to the hungry of the third world has not been in the form of gifts. It has been in terms of loans with severe restricting conditions. Other Western societies have been consistently more generous with free food for the hungry than has the United States.

In the long run, increased OPEC oil

Conservation Price Tag

The item in your edition of Nov. 9

about the discovery of furbish louse-

worts on the site of a proposed hydro-

electric project brings to mind the

question as to who among us is willing

to pay for the improvements in our

quality of life mandated by new

Federal and state environmental

statutes. If, as your news item sug-

gests may happen, the discovery of

this endangered flower causes the dam

to be canceled, it will presumably be

necessary to generate the needed elec-

tricity by the more expensive method

of burning imported oil. This would

cause a small but permanent increase

Some people no doubt feel that the

added cost would be fully justified in

the interest of preserving a valuable

ecological feature of the remote wilds

of northern Maine. But a much larger

group of people has clearly expressed

its unwillingness to have any part in

paying for such ecological improve-

ments. I refer to all those employees

who have insisted through their bar-

gaining representatives on the protec-

tion of cost-of-living adjustment

(COLA) clauses in their work con-

economic burden of protecting our en-

vironment falls more evenly on all sec-

tors of our society would be to ex-

clude from cost-of-living calculations

all those cost increments that can be

attributed to improving our quality of

life. To make this procedure more

palatable to the average worker I

suggest that in lieu of the next costof-living adjustment a pressed speci-

men of a furbish lousewort be included

Schenectady, N.Y., Nov. 15, 1976

Lebanon's unfolding tragedy reaches

a climax as Soviet-made Syrian tanks

enforce the "peace." Another small

democratic nation, unique in the vast

Arab world, loses its independence.

Similar losses come to mind: Spain

after its civil war and Czechoslovakia,

duplicated, their implications must be

examined. It was the Rivadh confer-

ence of Arab kings and presidents

Though historic events are never

victims of external intervention.

HENRY HURWITZ JR.

in each pay envelope.

Lebanon's Loss

To the Editor:

One means of assuring that the

in the cost of living.

Justice Roberts said he "never realized

how many were not entitled to amnesty. The review took a year and covered 15,805 cases. The board recommended executive clemency for only 1,523.

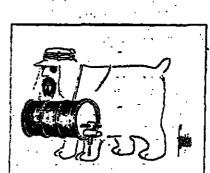
President Truman pardoned another

1.518 because they served a year or more in the armed services and received an honorable discharge. Theere has been a change in the political climate, which now supports forgiveness for those who deserve consideration. A great number of those who evaded the draft, as was the case after World War II. do not deserve clemency, and to grant blanket pardons to all would be unfair to those who were motivated by the demands of conscience. It would be more than

This unfairness could be avoided by President-elect Carter if he appointed his own amnesty board when he takes office modifying his plan for blanket SIDNEY D. PALEY

unfair to those who served.

Lieut. Col., U.S.A.R., Retired Brooklyn, Nov. 15, 1976



prices could constitute a nonviolent gradual device to reduce the obscene inequities in the standards of living that now exist. These inequities are direct functions of the rip-off practices of the West applied for centuries against the third-world peoples.

The standard of living of the West mobile owner.

Whitman, Mass., Nov. 15, 1976

must be severely reduced in order to raise the standard of living of the third world merely to a dignified subsistence. Higher OPEC oil prices could lead to a very useful form of forced busing if the price of gasoline becomes prohibitive for the Western auto-CY GREEN

which ratified the takeover of Lebanon. While the Li.N. and democratic governments ignored the internecine slaughter, ambitious powers manipulated Lebanon's factions with massive arms shipments and propaganda. Now it is questionable whether Lebanese or Palestinians will enjoy self-determination as Lebanon becomes a dependency of Assad's "Greater Syria."

JOSEPH BRANDES Professor of History William Paterson College of New Jersey Wayne, N.J., Nov. 15, 1976

All-American Election

To the Editor:

The maps showing the geographical distribution of electoral votes, and the news stories, editorials and columns commenting on the distribution, almost uniformly create the impression that the Presidential vote reflects two eress of significantly different political predilections, one of which is Ford country, the other Carterland, I think this is wrong, a misreading and a harmful distortion of our political attitudes, not supported by the detailed data now available.

The fact seems to be that the differences in many of the larger swing areas and states were so slight that any or most of them could have been in the opposite column if the whims of chance had been a little different. Illinois, for example, would likely have gone for Carter had Thompson been less strong and Howlett less weak. Perhaps the same is true for California, where Tunney succumbed to Hayakawa. The weather, the size of the turnout and local quiddities would have sufficed to change the results in Ohio, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, New Jersey. New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Virginia and

The conclusion that should more properly be drawn is that of the essential homogeneity of the electorate on a totally nationwide basis. The map could almost as easily have looked like a checkerboard instead of simple or simplistic East vs. West proprietary

The election so viewed should be more consistent with national harmony and unity. I believe this to be the sounder and healthier view, fully justified by the returns.

JONATHAN B. RINTELS New York, Nov. 5, 1976

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To Succèe.

To the Editor:

President-elec-

ment. Fortunately, C insurmountable. Congress, throu various commit foreign' relations knowledgeable i same time, Kissii excluded Congre of the nation's members of the main outside the mined our rec Specifically, Cart consideration to · Iowa. chairman on Africa, His. Ford Administrat vene in Angola to majority rule Africa are well his informed qu

a knowledgeable policy. Choosing Senai of State would g ter's campaign p the past and inv diplomatic matte an important syn port for black A insure a foreign on experience ar on a genuine co rights.

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To the Editor: Now that Heru to be out of a id place for him. H

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Your glowing Lhevinne, which deserved, re-empl must recur to ma obituaries of in toreign birth wh whose parents or open society of rather than cope erated by wars or turmoil abroad. United States do r stein or a Thoma Rosina Lhevinne l level of our societ

Lawyers, gove tors, Congressmen public at large në reminded of this a nisty-gritty of the Against the pressu business or oth group it is necess carefully closing penniless immigrar might become the century and to ti who can make les cant contributions

A Quince Grov To the Edwor. Yesterday, to I

across a quince in in the Brooklyn Bot the years, I smell grance of the go stored in my mothe How-many have jelly or ever ever

And that opens thought—who is it serving the disapt berries and what is

How many of bowis of russet app nuts on the tables many have ever set tasted the delicated berry jam? Have you of graceful hellyhoc yard fence? And wi chestnuts that lined ing up the dask flowers in early sur It is indeed sed ! ful wests may never

The Times welcon readers: Letters must include the address and tele Because of the to mail received, we are unable to less

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Editor Mr. Carter At the Crossroad

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By Tom Wicker

wo months before he takes the of office as President, Jimmy ter already is face to face with one he major questions that will deterthe course of his Administration. he seek at the outset to gain the idence of the business and financommunity, or will he risk their wor by moving rapidly and pera radically to attack the economic social ills he campaigned against? ne available evidence is that Mr. er so far is opting for Wall Street's idence. He and Chairman Arthur is of the Federal Reserve Board, example, are staging an Alphonse-Gaston act in promising to coate with one another, although Surns keeps inveighing against the I for a stimulative tax cut.

sked at his second post-election s conference if the nation had at he prepared to accept 5 to 7 eat unemployment for most of the s until 1980, Mr. Carter replied outd guess that is a likely prosent memployment rate cannot be cad overnight to the 4 to 4.5 per Mr. Carter has pledged, his rese to this and other questions on subject suggests caution rather swift and innovative action.

ambton Jordan, Mr. Carter's forcampaign manager and new talent er, told Washington reporters, lover, that the President-elect ted to appoint a Treasury Secre-

IN THE NATION

ho is going to rbalize' the ncerns of the

who would be a "bridge" to the sorate and financial worlds—some"who can verbalize the concerns he financial community and anticithe financial community's reactor to economic decisions he might

lhe trouble with that is that the ancial community has never lacked ople to "verbalize" its concerns; all iministrations of both parties are tays full of such people; and with without them, anyone of moderate lligence and decent memory can Mr. Carter what the financial munity's reaction will be to his mic decisions.

financial community, that is, e against such decisions if they imed primarily at relieving uniquent and the tax burden on or, while raising taxes on busind the weakthy; and it will be for of his policies if they put onary fears first and protect is from higher taxation and ment intervention.

who is going to "verbalize" the us of the poor and the disaged and the unemployed in the Administration? That question squarely to the President-elect Newsweek article by Vernon executive director of the League.

black claim on Carter," Mr. wrote, "is not the traditional I claim for government jobs, in there is every indication that it Administration will feature in high offices. Rather, it is a claim for policies that would the tragic decline of black tandards. . Please note that acks want is what poor whites d what the country as a whole o restore its sense of vision pose."

une point was made even more

illy by Eddie N. Williams, t of the Joint Center for Studies, a black research
At the University of Missouri after the election in which fid so much to put Jimmy 11 office, Mr. Williams said: opportunities will confront ... Administration — the opporopen up the lily-white world r formulation and to assure iks have an equal chance to : pe the nation's policies and A Cabinet post and a seistant or two will not sufneed now is to integrate the uking process - to conquer her frontier of segregation.. : has a unique opportunity to at blacks become full partthe nation's policy-making . This would not only be fair 1ld broaden the pool of talent get the job done. More imthe broad inclusion of . Ald provide a much-needed

t, thoughtful black leaders lemanding a mere political black votes; they are asking at Mr. Carter's Administrap to the economic and social lat drew blacks so heavily fort in the campaign. Wheth-sident-elect can do that and the approval of the finansiness community is doubtfor, as another article will concmics and business as it be good enough to meet

terspective in the early stages

I policy formulation, rather

r policies have been locked

e and the only alternative is

Vietnam: A Reply to the U.S.Veto

Following are excerpts from remarks by Dinh Ba Thi, Vietnam's permanent observer at the United Nations, at a meeting of the Security Council on Monday.

By Dinh Ba Thi

The pretext used by the American Government this time to veto the admission of Vietnam [to the United Nations] is an allegation by that Government that the Vietnamese side has not provided a complete list of Americans missing in the Vietnam war and, consequently, is not devoted to the cause of peace and humanitarianism—indispensable qualifications for membership of the United Nations.

First of all, we believe that it must be stressed that the problem of Americans missing during the war in Vietnam, like the negotiations which are taking place in Paris between Vietnam and the United States, is part of the blatteral relations between the two countries and has absolutely nothing to do with Article 4 of the Charter.

The American Government, using Various pretexts according to the circumstances and its needs of the moment—their opposition to so-called "selective universality," the problem of missing Americans, the results of negotiations at Paris, and so forth—is continuing its policy of obstruction with regard to the admission of Vietnam to membership.

By mentioning the problem of the missing Americans and considering that as a humanitarian problem, all the while using terms that are insulting to the Vietnamese people in response to gestures of good will on the Vietnamese side, the Ford Administration has tried to strike a sensitive chord in world public opinion for political purposes that are very well known. In reality, that Administration has not shown any good will with regard to the settlement of the problem of Americans listed as missing.

All those who prize justice and peace, including a large segment of the American population, will surely not forget the crimes of aggression and genocide committed by the imperialist aggressors against our people, crimes which shocked the conscience of all mankind during the war of aggression.

In keeping with humanitarian considerations, we should like to [ask] the American leaders if they were at all troubled in their consciences regarding the tens of thousands of Vietnamese families which suffered because their children, two years after the end of the war, are still listed as missing? How do they feel about the hundreds of Vietnamese who continue to be killed by mines and unexploded devices left?

How do they feel about the hundreds of thousands of prostitutes and orphans and the millions of unem-



ployed who are the direct victims of American neo-colonialism in South Vietnam? Are their consciences troubled with regard to the entire people of Vietnam who must now overcome enormous difficulties and accept all manner of deprivations in order to bind the wounds of war caused by two million American soldiers armed to the teeth, by the 15 million tons of explosives and by the tens of thousands of tons of American toxic chemical products used in the war?

In spite of all that, the Vietnamese Government, has proved by its acts and its flexibility, its willingness to settle the problem of the Americans missing in the war in Vietnam. Furthermore, who can deny the legitimate and legal right of the Vietnamese people to demand of the American Government that it honor the signature of its representatives and that it respect its commitment to contribute to healing the wounds of war and to the reconstruction of Vietnam after the war?

After the war, the Vietnamese Government on a number of occasions proposed talks with the American Government in order to discuss settlement of problems outstanding since the Paris Agreements on Vietnam and concerning the two countries in an effort to normalize relations.

. Whereas the American Government has left no stone unturned in its attempts to delay any response to our constructive proposals, the Vietnamese Government has demonstrated its good will by giving the American side the lists and remains of those soldiers killed in the war in Vietnam whom we were able to identify. A special committee of experts from various competent services of Vietnam are still hard at work in an effort to seek out and identify missing Americans.

While talks are continuing between the two parties in Paris on the settlement of the problems concerning the two sides, including the problem of Americans missing in the war in Vietnam, and while there are encouraging signs that it may be possible to begin business-like negotiations, the opposition of the American veto to our candidacy only proves one thing: that the policy of the Ford-Kissinger Administration is based more on rancor and vengeance than on a serious desire to settle the problem of missing Americans.

A Smaller Bangfor a Buck

By C. L. Sulzberger

VARAVILLE, France—In the nasty simplified cold war days which nobody in his right mind hearkens back to, advocates of a strategy of all-out nuclear response to even the slightest aggression argued that this could be a less expensive as well as more deadly means of defending the West because it was based on "a bigger bang for a buck." This meant more calculable megadeaths for each military budget dollar spent.

But now the NATO alliance, whose leaders are about to hold their annual review next month, has discovered to its horror some billions that should be invested in more effective defense are being wasted by ridiculous rivalry and duplication of effort among partners who are politically too weak or nationalistically too zealous to end this

The former chairman of NATO's military committee, West German General Johannes Steinhoff, argues:

"As an alliance of sovereign countries competing with each other economically, NATO reflects the economic, industrial and political situation in each member country, and this in turn has repercussions in the great variety of projects and weapons. This state of affairs has helped to make NATO look today like an army museum."

The trouble is that this very state of affairs is rendered worse by a resurgent economic recession. Each country obviously prefers to keep alliance costs down but also favors economic nationalism so that each country can whenever possible, manufacture and sell to non-NATO markets weapons systems theoretically designed for its own and the coalition's defense. The U.S.A. is the worst offender in this respect but West Germany, France and even Britain and Italy follow their

Dr. Gardiner Tucker, recently NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defense Support, has prepared a study on this drab subject for the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, whose board of governors is meeting here. The background to his analysis may be seen in another observation by Steinhoff:

"We are witnessing at present a fascinating technological race between the West and the Soviet Union. Mainly because of the waste of our research and development resources we have allowed the Soviet Union step by step to reduce the gap which was traditionally in favor of the West. We give NATO the huge sum of \$20 billion a year for research and development, but up to half of the projects are parallel projects that involve unnecessary duplication, or even triplication or quadruplication."

Tucker points out that in 1973 the alliance had 31 different types of antitank weapons, whereas military analysis considered "five was probably the optimum number." A further 18 were then being developed.

The ACE mobile force containing units from seven allied nations and totalling 5,000 men, has seven different types of aircraft, six types of recoilless rifles, its own logistical personnel and support, plus so many other mixtures of arms that its commander estimates today it would take just twice as long to deploy for action than it would were its composition standardized.

Differing types (according to each nation) of fuel, ammunition, arms and supplies make it sometimes difficult, sometimes impossible to resupply aircraft away from their regular bases. There isn't even a NATO standard nozzle for pumping gas into fighters. NATO's ships have 36 kinds of radar for fire control and 40 kinds of large-

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Billions that should be invested in more effective defense are being wasted by ridiculous rivalry...

caliber gun, therefore requiring manufacture and distribution of 40 kinds

According to Tucker, the resulting lack of military coherence and inefficiency stems from the fact that allied rivals for foreign sales (which help ease national unemployment) "have tended to protect their defense industries and to procure their own designs from their own factories"

from their own factories."

The roster of wastage is as endless as it is needless. Seven allies are planning six different tactical communications systems for their forces within the next five years, but no two of these can communicate directly with each other; nor can any communicate directly with the NATO integrated communication system.

Tucker rightly insists: "All NATO forces must be interoperable. In particular, this must be true of North American and European forces operating together." But what "must be" is in fact far from being the case.

We have curiously come to the point where we are spending relatively more and getting relatively less for our money as each year now goes by. Isn't it high time to reform, rationalize and standardize the alliance's equipment and its overall system of research and development?

The Southern Baptists

By Foy Valentine

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The question, "Who is Jimmy Carter?" is a complex one that was partly answered by the voters Nov. 2. The question, "Who are Southern Baptists?" is an even more complex one that now requires a special, if necessarily partial, answer in the context of recent goings-on at the Baptist Church of Plains, Ga., where the President-elect is a member and teaches a Sunday school class.

The incident at Plains has been at least parily racial. No matter that blacks have attended services at the church for years. No matter that the person primarily involved is not a Baptist. No matter that he is not a resident of the community. No matter that both the President-elect and his pastor have repeatedly, unequivocally opposed racism. No matter that the church has now reversed the deacons. The main character in that drama has been a black, so the incident is still at least partly racial; and Southern Baptists are properly questioned about it.

Who are Southern Baptists? Really? We are Christians. We have publicly, every one of us of his own free will and accord, confessed Jesus Christ as Lord and have subsequently been baptized as a symbol of our own burial by the grace of God to the old life of sin and our resurrection to walk in new-

ness of life.

We are Baptists. Accepting the Bible as our guide in faith and practice, we have a focus on the importance of voluntarism in true religion, a conviction about the priesthood of the bekever, a belief in the worth of every individual, a concern for both evangelism and ethics, a congregational form of church government, a commitment to separation of church and state as the surest guarantee of religious liberty, and an understanding that God expects His

changed people to change the world.

We are a national religious body. The name Southern Baptist Convention is a geographical misnomer, for our 13 million members are in more than 35,000 independent and completely autonomous churches scattered throughout all 50 states. On an average Sunday now, we baptize in our churches about 8,000 new members who have professed faith in Jesus. We support some 5,000 missionaries at home and abroad. Our churches last year received total gifts in excess of \$1.5 billion. We work closely and supportively with the Baptist World Alliance-some 35 million members, including about 12 million American

ack Baptists.
We are, in the majority, Southerners

and Southwesterners. Yet we are actually quite heterogeneous: rich and poor, rural and urban, educated and uneducated, Republicans and Democrats, black and white, even Northern and Southern.

And we are sinners. Soren Kierke-gaard said in "The Sickness Unto Death" that Christianity begins with the doctrine of sin. We understand that. We know that not only have we sinned in the past but that we are sinners still, not just honorary sinners but practicing, real sinners.

In a Baptist church, deacons can speak or act for themselves but they may not properly speak or act for the church except as expressly authorized to do so. No Baptist speaks for another. I am deeply grieved that some deacons of the Baptist Church of Plains decided to try to keep the Rev. Clennon King out of their meeting house. I am deeply gratified, though not surprised, that the church has now voted decisively to abolish its 1965 racial barrier to membership, which it had passed in the white heat of the civilrights battle.

Most Southern Baptists lamented the action of some leaders at the Baptist Church of Plains not only because it scandalized the church but also because it shamefully aired the dirty linen of the 1960's and needlessly reopened old wounds that are slowly but surely healing, at precisely the time when the clearest possible Christian witness is needed.

As racism and race prejudice are prominent features in America's body politic, so they are besetting sins in the life of American churches in general and of Baptist churches in the South in particular, Racism is evil; It is nevertheless endemic in America. It is endemic in the North as well as in the South, in urban Detroit as well as rural Georgia, in the obscenities of Earl Butz as well as the obscenities of Lester Maddox, and in the silk-stocking high churches as well as the blueoveralls low churches. The sin of racism is one Southern Baptists as a whole do not wink at, gloss over, or

It may be remembered, moreover, that Southern-Baptist deacon Jammy Carter would not be President-elect if it had not been for the overwhelming support of his black Baptist brothers and sisters. That says something that helps to bring into perspective the incident at Plains.

Foy Valentine has been executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention since 1960.

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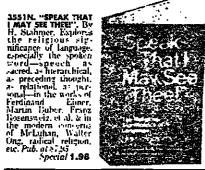
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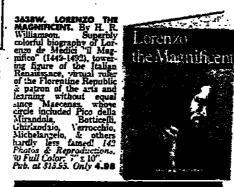
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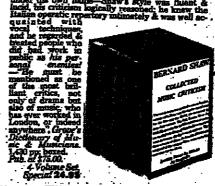
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